Bishop BURNET's

TRAVELS,

THROUGH

FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANY, and SWITZERLAND:

Describing their Religion, Learning, Government, Customs, Natural History, Trade, &c.

And illustrated with curious observations on the Buildings, Paintings, Antiquities, and other curiosities in Art and Nature.

With a detection of the frauds and folly of Popery and Superstition in some flagrant instances, also characters of several eminent persons, and many other memorable things worthy the attention of the curious.

Written by the Bishop to the Hon. ROBERT BOYLE.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, containing remarks on *Switzerland* and *Italy*, by a person of Quality, and communicated to the Author.

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MDCCLII.

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MDCCLII.

A ſhort CHARACTER of the Biſhop and his Works.

HE had great abilities both natural and acquired; was very inquiſitive after knowledge, of great integrity, an excellent judge of men and things, and a moſt zealous advocate for the liberties of mankind, civil and religious, abhorring perſecution of all kinds; conſequently his memory will be eſteemed by all the wiſe and good, and can have no enemies, except among bigots, fools, and knaves. His excellent hiſtory of the Reformation, and other works, will tranſmit his name to the lateſt poſterity. In regard to the following piece, it ſurpaſſes infinitely any thing in its kind extant, in the ſtyle, ſentiments, matter, method, *&c.*; and the fine ſpirit of liberty that ſhines through it, is admirable. No doubt he exerted himſelf in an extraordinary manner in the compoſition, having choſe ſo illuſtrious a genius for his patron. To conclude, he certainly was one of the greateſt men of his time, and an ornament to his country, liberty, and religion.

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APPENDIX.

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TRAVELS

TRAVELS

THROUGH

FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANY, and SWITZERLAND.

LETTER I.

SIR,

IT is so common to write travels, that, for one who has seen so little, and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning places so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet, having had opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that travel, and having joined to those a curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful entertainment, if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed. But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary books; for which I refer you to the prints. For as you know that I have no great inclination to copy what others have said, so a traveller has not leisure nor humour enough for so dull an employment.

As I came all the way from Paris to Lyons, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared,

not only in villages, but even in big towns; where all the marks of an extreme poverty ſhewed themſelves, both in the buildings, the cloaths, and almoſt in the looks of the inhabitants. And a general diſpeopling in all the towns, was a very viſible effect of the hardſhips under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular, and yet magnificent ſituation of Lyons, of the noble rivers that meet there, of the rock cut from ſo vaſt a height for a priſon, of the Carthuſians gardens, of the town-houſe, of the Jeſuits college and library, of the famous nunnery of St Peter, of the churches, particularly St Irenee's, of the remnants of the aqueducts, of the columns, and the old moſaic in the abbey Dene. In ſhort, Mr Spon has given ſuch an account of the curioſities there, that it were a very preſumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The ſpeech of Claudius, ingraven on a plate of braſs, and ſet at the end of the low walk in the town-houſe, is one of the nobleſt antiquities in the world; by which we ſee the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiouſly. The ſhield of ſilver, of twenty-two pound weight, in which ſome remains of gilding do yet appear, and that ſeems to repreſent that generous action of Scipio's, of reſtoring a fair captive to a Celtiberian prince, is certainly the nobleſt piece of plate that is now extant. The emboſſing of it is ſo fine and ſo entire, that it is indeed invaluable; and if there were an inſcription upon it, to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more ineſtimable.

A great many inſcriptions are to be ſeen of the late and barbarous ages; as *Bonum memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*. There are twenty three inſcriptions in the garden of the Fathers of Mercy; but ſo placed as ſhew how little thoſe who poſſeſs them do either underſtand or value them. I ſhall only

give you one, becauſe I made a little reflection on it; though it is not perhaps too well grounded, becauſe none of the critics have thought on it. The inſcription is this.

D. M.
Et Memoriæ Æternæ
SUTIÆ ANTHIDIS,
Quæ vixit annis xxv. M. XI. DV.
Quae dum Nimia Pia fuit, facta eſt Impia:
Et ATTIO PROBATIOLO, CECALIUS CALISTIO
Conjux & Pater,
Et ſibi vivo ponendum curavit,
Et ſub aſcia dedicavit.

This muſt be towards the barbarous age, as appears by the falſe Latin in *Nimia*. But the inſcription ſeems ſo extravagant, that a man dedicating a burial-ſtone for his wife and ſon, and under which himſelf was to be laid with ceremonies of religion, ſhould tax his wife of impiety, and give ſo extraordinary an account of her becoming ſo through an exceſs of piety, that it deſerves ſome conſideration.

It ſeems the impiety was public, otherwiſe a huſband would not have recorded it in ſuch a manner; and it is plain, that he thought it aroſe from an exceſs of piety.

I need not examine the conjectures of others; but will chuſe rather to give you my own, and ſubmit it to your cenſure.

It ſeems to me, that this Sutia Anthis was a Chriſtian; for the Chriſtians, becauſe they would not worſhip the gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their ſacred rites, were accuſed both of Atheiſm and impiety. This is ſo often objected, and the fathers in their apologies have anſwered it ſo often, that it were loſt labour to prove it. So this wife of Cecalius Caliſtio ha-

ving turned Chriſtian, it ſeems he thought he was bound to take ſome notice of it in the inſcription. But by it he gives an honourable character of the Chriſtian doctrine, at the ſame time that he ſeems to accuſe it, *viz.* that through an exceſs of piety his wife was carried to it; ſince a mind ſeriouſly poſſeſſed with a true ſenſe of piety, could not avoid falling under a diſtaſte of Paganiſm, and becoming Chriſtian.

At Grenoble there is not much to be ſeen. The learned Mr Chorier has ſome manuſcripts of conſiderable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re militari*, there is a clear correction of a paſſage that in all the printed editions is not ſenſe. In the chapter of the ſize of the ſoldiers, he begins, *Scio ſemper menſuram a Mario Conſule exactam.* *a* is in no manuſcript, and *Mario Conſule* is a miſtake for *trium Cubitorum:* for III. which are for *trium*, have been read for *M*; and *C*, which ſtands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a miſtake read *Conſule*. So the true reading of that paſſage is, *Scio menſuram trium cubitorum fuiſſe ſemper exactam.* He ſhewed me another manuſcript of about five or ſix hundred years old; in which St John's Revelation is contained, all exemplified in figures; and after that comes Æſop's fables, likewiſe all deſigned in figures; from which he inferred, that thoſe who deſigned the two books, valued both equally, and ſo put them together.

I will not deſcribe the Valley of Dauphine, all to Chambery; nor entertain you with a landſkip of the country, which deſerves a better pencil than mine; and in which the height and rudeneſs of the mountains, that almoſt ſhut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenneſs, and fruitfulneſs of the valley, that is all along well watered with the river Liſerre, make ſuch an agreeable mixture, that

that this vaſt diverſity of objects that do at once fill the eye, give it a very entertaining proſpect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deſerves a long deſcription; and Geneva is too well known to be much inſiſted on. It is a little ſtate; but it has ſo many good conſtitutions in it, that the greateſt may juſtly learn of it. The chamber of the corn has always two years proviſion for the city in ſtore, and forces none but the bakers to buy of it at a taxed price: and ſo it is both neceſſary againſt any extremities under which the ſtate may fall; and is likewiſe of great advantage; for it gives a good yearly income, that has helped the ſtate to pay near a million of debts contracted during the wars. And the citizens are not oppreſſed by it; for every inhabitant may buy his own corn as he pleaſes, only public houſes muſt buy from the chamber. And if one will compare the faith of Rome and Geneva together by this particular, he would be forced to prefer the latter: for if *good works* are a ſtrong preſumption, if not a ſure indication, of a *good faith*, then *juſtice* being a good work of the firſt form, Geneva will certainly carry it.

At Rome the Pope buys in all the corn of the patrimony; for none of the landlords can ſell it, either to merchants or bakers. He buys it at five crowns their meaſure; and even that is ſlowly and ill paid; ſo that there was eight hundred thouſand crowns owing upon that ſcore when I was at Rome. In ſelling this out, the meaſure is leſſened a fifth part, and the price of the whole is doubled; ſo that what was bought at five crowns, is ſold out at twelve: and if the bakers, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of corn from the chamber, cannot retale out all that is impoſed upon them, but are forced to return ſome part of it back, the chamber diſcounts to them only the firſt price of five crowns. Whereas in Geneva, the meaſure

by which they buy and ſell is the ſame; and the gain is ſo inconſiderable, that it is very little beyond the common market-price: ſo that, upon the whole matter, the chamber of the corn is but the merchant to the ſtate. But if the public makes a moderate gain by the corn, that, and all the other revenues of this ſmall commonwealth, are ſo well employed, that there is no cauſe of complaint given in the adminiſtration of the public purſe, which, with the advantages that ariſe out of the chamber of the corn, is about an hundred thouſand crowns revenue. But there is much to go out of this. Three hundred ſoldiers are paid; an arſenal is maintained, that, in proportion to the ſtate, is the greateſt in the world, for it contains arms for more men than are in the ſtate. There is a great number of miniſters and profeſſors, in all twenty-four, paid out of it, beſides all the public charges and offices of the government; every one of the leſſer council of twenty-five having an hundred crowns, and every ſyndic having two hundred crowns penſion; and, after all this, come the accidental charges of the deputies, that they are obliged to ſend often to Paris, to Savoy, and to Switzerland: ſo that it is very apparent no man can inrich himſelf at the coſt of the public. And the appointments of the *little council* are a very ſmall recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the public, which is commonly four or five hours a-day. The ſalary for the profeſſors and miniſters is indeed ſmall, not above two hundred crowns; but, to balance this, (which was a more competent proviſion when it was firſt ſet off a hundred and fifty years ago, the price of all things and the way of living being now much heightened), thoſe employments are here held in their due reputation; and the richeſt citizens in the town breed up their children ſo as to qualify them for

thoſe

thoſe places. And a miniſter that is ſuitable to his character, is thought ſo good a match, that generally they have ſuch eſtates, either by ſucceſſion or marriage, as ſupport them ſuitably to the rank they hold. And in Geneva there is ſo great a regulation upon expences of all ſorts, that a ſmall ſum goes a great way. It is a ſurpriſing thing to ſee ſo much learning as one finds in Geneva, not only among thoſe whoſe profeſſion obliges them to ſtudy, but among the magiſtrates and citizens. And if there are not many men of the firſt form of learning among them, yet almoſt every body here has a good tincture of a learned education, inſomuch that they are maſters of the Latin, they know hiſtory, and the controverſies of religion, and are generally men of good ſenſe.

There is an univerſal civility, not only towards ſtrangers, but towards one another, that reigns all the town over, and leans to an exceſs: ſo that in them one ſees a mixture of a French openneſs, and an Italian exactneſs. There is indeed a little too much of the laſt.

The public juſtice of the city is quick and good, and is more commended than the private juſtice of thoſe that deal in trade. A want of ſincerity is much lamented by thoſe that know the town well. There is no public lewdneſs tolerated, and the diſorders of that ſort are managed with great addreſs. And notwithſtanding their neighbourhood to the Switzers, drinking is very little known among them. One of the beſt parts of their law, is the way of ſelling eſtates, which is likewiſe practiſed in Switzerland, and is called *ſubhaſtation*, from the Roman cuſtom of ſelling *ſub haſta*. A man that is to buy an eſtate, agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the government; who order three ſeveral proclamations to be made ſix weeks one after another, of the intended ſale that is to

be

be on ſuch a day. When the day comes, the creditors of the ſeller, if they apprehend that the eſtate is ſold at an undervalue, may outbid the buyer: but if they do not interpoſe, the buyer delivers the money to the ſtate, who upon that give him his title to the eſtate, which can never be ſo much as brought under a debate in law; and the price is paid in to the ſtate, and is by them given, either to the creditors of the ſeller, if he owes money, or to the ſeller himſelf.

This cuſtom prevails likewiſe in Swiſſe, where alſo twelve years poſſeſſion gives a preſcription; ſo that in no place of the world are the titles to eſtates ſo ſecure as here. The conſtitution of the government is the ſame both in Geneva and in moſt of the cantons. The ſovereignty lies in the *council of two hundred*; and this council chuſes out of its number twenty-five, who are the *leſſer council*; and the cenſure of the *twenty-five* belongs to the *great council*. They are choſen by a ſort of ballot, ſo that it is not known for whom they give their votes; which is an effectual method to ſuppreſs factions and reſentments, ſince in a competition no man can know who voted for or againſt him. Yet the election is not ſo carried, but that the whole town is in an intrigue concerning it: for ſince the being of the *little council* leads one to the *ſyndicate*, which is the chief honour of the ſtate, this dignity is courted here with as active and ſolicitous an ambition as appears elſewhere for greater matters. The *two hundred* are choſen and cenſured by the *twenty-five*; ſo that theſe two councils, which are both for life, are checks one upon another. The magiſtracy is in the one, and the ſovereignty in the other. The number of twenty-five is never exceeded in the *leſſer council*; but for the greater, though it paſſes by the name of *The council of two hundred*, yet there are commonly eight or ten more; ſo that, notwithſtanding

notwithſtanding the abſence or ſickneſs of ſome of the members, they may ſtill be able to call together near the full number. There is another council beſides theſe two, compoſed of ſixty, conſiſting of thoſe of the *two hundred* that have borne offices, ſuch as auditors, attorney-generals; or thoſe that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years. This court has no authority; but is called together by the *twenty-five*, when any extraordinary occaſion makes it adviſable for them to call for a more general concurrence in the reſolutions they are about to form. And this council is of the nature of a council of ſtate, that only gives advice, but has no power in itſelf to inforce its advice. The whole body of the burgeſſes chuſe the ſyndics the firſt Sunday of the year; and there are ſome other elections that do likewiſe belong to them. The difference between the burgeſſes and citizens is, that the former degree may be bought, or given to ſtrangers, and they are capable to be of the *two hundred*; but none is a citizen, but he that is the ſon of a burgeſs, and that is born within the town.

I need ſay no more of the conſtitution of this little republic. Its chief ſupport is in the firm alliance that has ſtood now ſo long between it and the cantons of Bern and Zurich. And it is ſo viſibly the intereſt of all Switzerland to preſerve it, as the key by which it may be all laid open, that if the cantons had not forgotten their intereſt ſo palpably, in ſuffering the French to become maſters of the Franche Comte, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering Geneva to be touched: for all that can be done in fortifying the town, can ſignify no more, than to put it in a caſe to reſiſt a ſurpriſe or ſcalade; ſince, if a royal army comes againſt it to beſiege it in form, it is certain, that unleſs the Switzers come down with a force

able

able to raiſe the ſiege, thoſe within will be able to make but a very ſhort reſiſtance.

From Geneva I went through the country of Vaud, or the Valley, and Lauſanne its chief town, in my way to Bern. The town of Lauſanne is ſituated on three hills; ſo that the whole town is aſcent and deſcent, and that very ſteep, chiefly on the ſide on which the church ſtands, which is a very noble fabric. The ſouth wall of the croſs was ſo ſplit by an earthquake about thirty years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide; which was ſo cloſed up ten years after by another earthquake, that now one only ſees where the breach was. This extravagant ſituation of the town was occaſioned by a legend of ſome miracles wrought near the church: which prevailed ſo much on the credulity of that age, that by it the church, and ſo in conſequence the buildings near it, were added to the old town, which ſtood on the other hill, where there was a town made on the highway from the lake into Switzerland; to which the chief privileges of the town, particularly the judicature of life and death, do ſtill belong. Between Geneva and this lies the lake, which at the one end is called the lake of Geneva, and at the other the lake of Lauſanne. I need not mention the dimenſions of it, which are ſo well known; only in ſome places the depth has never been found, for it is more than five hundred fathom. The banks of the lake are the beautifulleſt plots of ground that can be imagined; for they look as if they had been laid by art. The ſloping is ſo eaſy and ſo equal, and the grounds are ſo well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful proſpect cannot be ſeen any where. The lake is well ſtocked with excellent fiſh; but their numbers do ſenſibly decreaſe, and one ſort is quite loſt. It is not only to be aſcribed to the ravenouſ-

neſs

neſs of the pikes that abound in it, but to another ſort of fiſh that they call *moutails*, which were never taken in the lake till within theſe ſix years laſt paſt. They are in the lake of Neufchatel, and ſome of the other lakes of Switzerland; and it is likely that, by ſome conveyance under ground, they may have come into channels that fall into this lake. The water of the lake is all clear and freſh. It is not only a great pond made by the Rhone, that runs into it, but does not paſs through it unmixed; as ſome travellers have fondly imagined, becauſe ſometimes a ſoft gale makes a curling of the water in ſome places, which runs ſmooth in the places over which that ſoft breath of wind does not paſs, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are alſo many great fountains all over the lake. Theſe ſprings do very probably flow from ſome vaſt cavities that are in the neighbouring mountains, which are as great ciſterns, that diſcharge themſelves in the vallies which are covered over with lakes. And on the two ſides of the Alps, both north and ſouth, there is ſo great a number of thoſe little ſeas, that it may be eaſily gueſſed they muſt have vaſt ſources, that feed ſo conſtantly thoſe huge ponds. And when one conſiders the height of thoſe hills, the chain of ſo many of them together, and their extent both in length and breadth; if at firſt he thinks of the old fables of laying one hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine, according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftener than once, that theſe cannot be the primary productions of the Author of Nature, but are the vaſt ruins of the firſt world, which at the deluge broke here into ſo many inequalities.

One hill not far from Geneva, called *Maudit*, or *Curſed*, of which one third is always covered with

with ſnow, is two miles of perpendicular height, according to the obſervation of that incomparable mathematician and philoſopher Nicolas Fatio Duilier, who, at twenty-two years of age, is already one of the greateſt men of his age, and ſeems to be born to carry learning ſome ſizes beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the ſtate of Bern; for that canton alone is above a third part of all Switzerland. I will ſay nothing of its beginning or hiſtory, nor will I enlarge upon the conſtitution; which are all well known. It has a *council of two hundred*, that goes by that name, though it conſiſts almoſt of three hundred; and another of *twenty-five*, as Geneva. The chief magiſtrates are two *advoyers*; who are not annual, as the ſyndics of Geneva, but are for life, and have an authority not unlike that of the Roman conſuls, each being his year by turns the *advoyer* in office. After them there are the four *bannerets*, who anſwer to the tribunes of the people in Rome; then come the two *burſars* or treaſurers, one for the ancient German territory, the other for the French territory, or the country of Vaud; and the two laſt choſen of the *twenty-five*, are called the *ſecrets*; for to them all ſecrets relating to the ſtate are diſcovered; and they have an authority of calling the *two hundred* together when they think fit, and of accuſing thoſe of the magiſtracy, the *advoyers* themſelves not excepted, as they ſee cauſe; though this falls out ſeldom.

There are ſeventy-two *bailiages*, into which the whole canton of Bern is divided; and in every one of thoſe there is a *bailiff* named by the *council of two hundred*, who muſt be a citizen of Bern, and one of the *two hundred*; to which council no man can be choſen till he is married. Theſe *bailiages* are employments both of honour and profit; for

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the *bailiff* is the governor and judge in that jurisdiction: since though he has some *assessors*, who are chosen out of the *bailiage*; yet he may by his authority carry matters which way he will, against all their opinions. And the *bailiffs* have all the confiscations and fines: so that drinking being so common in the country, and that producing many quarrels, the *bailiff* makes his advantage of all those disorders; and in the six years of his government, according to the quality of his *bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps twenty thousand crowns with him back to Bern: on which he lives till he can carry another *bailiage*; for one is capable of being twice *bailiff*: and though some have been thrice *bailiffs*, this is very extraordinary. The exactions of the *bailiff* are the only impositions or charges to which the inhabitants are subjected; and these falling only on the irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this grievance, though in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt; for a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this canton are (as in England) lords of castles or manors, and have a jurisdiction annexed to their estates, and name their magistrate, who is called the *castellan*. In matters of small consequence, there lies no appeal from him to the *bailiff*; but beyond the value of two pistoles, an appeal lies; and no sentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at Bern. There lies also an appeal from the *bailiff* to the council at Bern. There are many complaints of the injustice of the *bailiffs*; but their law is short and clear; so that a suit is soon ended. Two or three hearings are the most that even an intricate suit amounts to, either in the first instance before the *bailiff*, or in the second judgment at Bern. The citizens of Bern consider these *bailiages* as their inheritance: and they are courted in this state per-

haps with as much intrigue, as was ever uſed among the Romans in the diſtribution of their provinces. And ſo little ſignify the beſt regulations, when there are intrinſic diſeaſes in a ſtate, that though there is all poſſible precaution uſed in the nomination of theſe *bailiffs*; yet that has not preſerved this ſtate from falling under ſo great a miſchief by thoſe little provinces; that as it has already in a great meaſure corrupted their morals, ſo it may likely turn in concluſion to the ruin of this republic. All the electors give their voices by ballot; ſo that they are free from all after-game in the nomination of the perſon. All the kindred of the pretenders, even to the remoteſt degree, are excluded from voting, as are alſo all their creditors; ſo that none can vote but thoſe who ſeem to have no intereſt in the iſſue of the competition: and yet there is ſo much intrigue, and ſo great a corruption in the diſtribution of theſe employments, that the whole buſineſs in which all Bern is ever in motion, is, the catching of the beſt *bailiages*; on which a family will have its eye for many years before they fall. For the counſellors of Bern give but a very ſmall ſhare of their eſtates to their children when they marry them. All that they propoſe, is, to make a *bailiage* ſure to them. For this they feaſt and drink, and ſpare nothing by which they may make ſure a ſufficient number of votes; but it is the chamber of the *bannerets* that admits the pretenders to the competition. When the *bailiff* is choſen, he takes all poſſible methods to make the beſt of it he can; and lets few crimes paſs, that carry either confiſcations or fines after them. His juſtice alſo is generally ſuſpected. It is true, thoſe of the *bailiage* may complain to the council at Bern, as the oppreſſed provinces did anciently to the ſenate of Rome; and there have been ſevere judgments againſt ſome very exorbitant *bailiffs*: yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occaſions,

ſions, which are not often given by the *bailiffs*; ſo it being the general intereſt of the citizens of Bern to make all poſſible advantages of thoſe employments, the cenſure will be but gentle, except the complaint is crying.

In Bern there is very little trade, only what is neceſſary for the ſupport of the town. They maintain profeſſors in the univerſities of Bern and Lauſanne; the one for the German territory, which is the ancient canton; and the other for the new conqueſt, which is the French. In the former, there are about three hundred pariſhes; in the latter, there are about one hundred and fifty. But, in the benefices of the German ſide, the ancient rights of the incumbents are generally preſerved ſo, that ſome benefices are worth a thouſand crowns; whereas in the Pais de Vaud the proviſions are ſet off as ſalaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred crowns. It is viſible, that thoſe of Bern truſt more to the affections and fidelity of their ſubjects, than to the ſtrength of their walls: for as they have never finiſhed them, ſo what is built cannot be brought to a regular fortification. And it is not preſerved with any care, nor furniſhed with cannon: but, if they have none on their ramparts, they have good ſtore in their arſenal; in which, they ſay, there are arms for forty thouſand men.

The peaſants are generally rich, chiefly on the German ſide, and are all well armed. They pay no duties to the public, and the ſoil is capable of great cultivation; in which ſome ſucceed ſo well, that I was ſhewed ſome that were by accident at Bern, who, as I was told, had of eſtate to the value of an hundred thouſand crowns; but that is not ordinary; yet ten thouſand crowns for a peaſant is no extraordinary matter. They live much on their milk and corn; which in ſome places, as about

Payern, yields an increaſe of fifteen meaſures after one. They breed many horſes, which bring them in a great deal of money. The worſt thing in the country, is the moiſture of the air; which is not only occaſioned by the many lakes that are in it, and the neighbouring mountains that are covered with ſnow, ſome all the ſummer long, and the reſt till midſummer, but by the vaſt quantity of woods of fir-trees, which ſeem to fill very near half of their ſoil. And if theſe were for the moſt part rooted out, as they would have much more ſoil, ſo their air would be much purer. Yet till they find either coal or turf for their fewel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found coal in ſome places. If the coal is conveniently ſituated, ſo that by their lakes and rivers it can be eaſily carried over the country, it may ſave them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with wood, ſo the air becomes thereby the more unwholſome.

They have ſome fountains of ſalt water; but the making ſalt conſumes ſo much wood, that hitherto it has not turned to any account.

The men are generally ſincere, but heavy. They think it neceſſary to correct the moiſture of the air with liberal entertainments: and they are well furniſhed with all neceſſary ingredients; for as their ſoil produces good cattle, ſo their lakes abound in fiſh, and their woods in fowl. The wine is alſo light and good. The women are generally employed in their domeſtic affairs; and the wives even of the chief magiſtrates of Bern look into all the concerns of the houſe and kitchen, as much as the wives of the meaneſt peaſants. Men and women do not converſe promiſcuouſly together; and the women are ſo much amuſed with the management at home, and enter ſo little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent phyſician there told me, *they know not what vapours are*, which he imputed

imputed to the idleneſs and intrigues that abound elſewhere: whereas, he ſaid, among them the blood was cleanſed by their labour; and as that made them ſleep well, ſo they did not amuſe themſelves with much thinking, nor did they know what amours were. The third adultery is puniſhed with death; which is alſo the puniſhment of the fifth act of fornication; of which I ſaw an inſtance while I was in Bern: for a woman who confeſſed herſelf guilty of many whoredoms, and deſigned to be revenged on ſome men that did not furniſh her liberally with money, was upon that condemned and executed. The manner was ſolemn: for the *advoyer* comes into an open bench in the middle of the ſtreet; and, for the ſatisfaction of the people, the whole proceſs was read, and ſentence was pronounced in the hearing of all; the counſellors both of the great and leſſer council ſtanding about the *advoyer*, who, after ſentence, took the criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her ſoul; and, after execution, there was a ſermon for the inſtruction of the people.

The whole ſtate is diſpoſed for war: for every man that can bear arms is liſted, and knows his poſt and arms; and there are beacons ſo laid over the country, that the ſignal can run over the whole canton in a night; and their military liſts are ſo laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the firſt or ſecond, or not till the general ſummons. They aſſured me at Bern, that, upon a general ſummons, they could bring above eighty thouſand men together. The men are robuſt and ſtrong, and capable of great hardſhip, and of good diſcipline, and have generally an extreme ſenſe of liberty, and a great love to their country; but they labour under a want of officers. And though the ſubjects of the ſtate are rich, yet the public is poor. They can well reſiſt a ſudden in-

vaſion of their country; but they would ſoon grow weary of a long war; and the ſoil requires ſo much cultivation, that they could not ſpare from their labour the men that would be neceſſary to preſerve their country. They were indeed as happy as a people could be, when the Emperor had Alſace on the one hand, and the Spaniards had the Franche Comte on the other. They had then no reaſon to fear their neighbours. But now that both thoſe provinces are in the hands of the French, the caſe is quite altered: for as Baſil is every moment in danger from the garriſon of Hunningen, that is but a cannon-ſhot diſtant from it; ſo all the Pais de Vaud lies open to the Franche Comte, and has neither fortified places nor good paſſes to ſecure it. So that their error in ſuffering this to fall into the hands of the French was ſo groſs, that I took ſome pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this account, that I had from one who was then in a very eminent poſt; ſo that as he certainly knew the ſecret, he ſeemed to ſpeak ſincerely to me. He told me, that the Duke of Lorrain had often moved in the councils of war, that the invaſion of France ought to be made on that ſide in which France lay open, and was very ill fortified. This he repeated often, and it was known in France; ſo that the King reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the Comte; but uſed that precaution, that, fearing to provoke the Switzers, he offered a neutrality on that ſide. But the Spaniards, who judged right, that it was as much the intereſt of the cantons, as it was theirs, to preſerve the Comte in their hands, refuſed to conſent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and ſeemed to leave that to the Switzers.

In the mean while, the French money went about very liberally at Bern; and, after thoſe that were moſt likely to make oppoſition were gained, the

the French miniſter propoſed to them the neceſſity in which his maſter found himſelf engaged to ſecure himſelf on that ſide; but that ſtill he would grant a neutrality on their account, if the Spaniards would agree to it. And with this all the aſſurances that could be given in words were offered to them, that they ſhould never find the leaſt prejudice from the neighbourhood of the French, but, on the contrary, all poſſible protection. There was juſt cauſe given by the Spaniards to conſider them very little in their deliberation; for they would neither accept of the neutrality, nor ſend a conſiderable force to preſerve the country; ſo that it ſeemed almoſt inevitable to give way to the French propoſition. But one propoſed that which an unbiaſſed aſſembly would certainly have accepted, that they ſhould go themſelves and take the country, and by ſo doing they would ſecure the neutrality, which was all the French pretended to deſire; and they might eaſily ſatisfy the Spaniards, and reimburſe themſelves of the expence of the invaſion, by reſtoring the country to them, when a general peace ſhould be made. He laid out the miſery to which their country muſt be reduced by ſo powerful a neighbour; but all was loſt labour: ſo he went out in a rage, and publiſhed through the town, that *the ſtate was ſold, and all was loſt*. They now ſee their error too late, and would repair it if it were poſſible. But the truth is, many of the particular members of this ſtate do ſo prey upon the public, that unleſs they do with one conſent reform thoſe abuſes, they will never be in a condition to do much: for, in many of their *bailiages*, of which ſome are *abbeys*, the *bailiffs* not only feed on the ſubjects, but likewiſe on the ſtate; and pretend they are ſo far ſuperexpended, that they diſcount a great deal of the public revenue (of which they are the receivers) for their reimburſement. Which made

made Mr D'Erlack once ſay, when one of thoſe accounts was preſented, *That it was very ſtrange, if the abbey could not feed the monks.* It is true, the power of their *bannerets* is ſo great, that one would think *they* might redreſs many abuſes. The city of Bern is divided into four bodies, not unlike our companies of London; which are, the bakers, the butchers, the tanners, and the blackſmiths; and every citizen of Bern doth incorporate himſelf into one of theſe ſocieties, which they call *abbeys*; for it is likely they were anciently a ſort of religious fraternity. Every one of theſe chuſes two *bannerets*, who bear office by turns from four years to four years; and every one of them has a *bailiage* annexed to his office, which he holds for life. They carry their name from the *banners* of the ſeveral *abbeys*, as the *gonfaloniers* of Italy; and the *advoyers* carry ſtill their name from the ancient title *ecdicus*, or *advocate*, that was the title of the chief magiſtrates of the towns in the times of the Roman Emperors. The chamber of the four *bannerets* that bear office have a vaſt power. They examine and paſs all accounts, and they admit all the competitors to any offices; ſo that no man can be propoſed to the *council of two hundred* without their approbation. And this being now the chief intrigue of their ſtate, they have ſo abſolute an authority in ſhutting men out from employments, that their office, which is for life, is no leſs conſiderable than that of the *advoyer*, though they are inferior to him in rank. They manage matters with great addreſs; of which this inſtance was given me in a competition for the *advoyerſhip* not long ago. There was one whoſe temper was violent, that had made it ſo ſure among thoſe that were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred nor alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor whom they favoured; ſo they ſet up a third competitor,

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whoſe kindred were the perſons that were made ſure to him whoſe advancement they oppoſed; and by this means they were all ſhut out from voting, ſo that the election went according to the deſign of the *bannerets*. The chief man now in Bern, who was the reigning *advoyer* when I was there, is Mr D'Erlack, nephew to that Mr D'Erlack who was governor of Briſack, and had a brevet to be a Marſhal of France. This is one of the nobleſt families in Bern, that acted a great part in ſhaking off the Auſtrian tyranny; and they have been ever ſince very much diſtinguiſhed there from all the reſt of their nobility. The preſent head of it is a very extraordinary man. He has a great authority in his canton, not only as he is *advoyer*, but by the particular eſteem which is paid him. For he is thought the wiſeſt and worthieſt man of the ſtate; though it is ſomewhat ſtrange, how he ſhould bear ſo great a ſway in ſuch a government, for he neither feaſts nor drinks with the reſt. He is a man of great ſobriety and gravity, very reſerved; and behaves himſelf more like a miniſter of ſtate in a monarchy, than a magiſtrate in a popular government; for one ſees in him none of thoſe arts that ſeem neceſſary in ſuch a government. He has a great eſtate, and no children; ſo he has no projects for his family, and does what he can to correct the abuſes of the ſtate; though the diſeaſe is inveterate, and ſeems paſt cure.

He had a misfortune in a war that was thirty years ago (in the year 1656) between the Popiſh and the Proteſtant cantons; the occaſion of which will engage me in a ſhort digreſſion. The peace of Switzerland is chiefly preſerved by a law agreed on among all the cantons, that every canton may make what regulations concerning religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general league. Now the Popiſh cantons have made laws, that it

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ſhall be capital to any to change their religion; and, on a ſet day every year, they go all to maſs, and the maſters of families ſwear to continue true to the ſtate, and firm in their religion to their lives end; and ſo they pretend they puniſh their falling into hereſy with death and confiſcation of goods, becauſe it is a violation of the faith which is ſo ſolemnly ſworn. But, on the other hand, in the Proteſtant cantons, ſuch as turn, are only obliged to go and live out of the canton; but for their eſtates, they ſtill preſerve them, and are permitted to ſell them. One cannot but obſerve more of the merciful ſpirit of the goſpel in the one, than in the other. In two cantons, Appenzel and Glaris, both religions are tolerated, and are capable of equal privileges; and in ſome *bailiages* that were conquered in common by the cantons of Bern and Friburg, in the wars with Savoy, the two cantons name the *bailiffs* by turns; and both religions are ſo equally tolerated, that in the ſame church they have both maſs and ſermon ſo equally, that on one Sunday the maſs begins, and the ſermon follows, and the next Sunday the ſermon begins, and the maſs comes after, without the leaſt diſorder or murmuring.

But, in the year 1656, ſome of the cantons of Schwitz changing their religion, and retiring to Zurich, their eſtates were confiſcated; and ſome others that had alſo changed, but had not left the canton, were taken and beheaded. Zurich demanded the eſtates of the refugees; but, inſtead of granting this, the canton of Schwitz demanded back their ſubjects, that they might proceed againſt them as delinquents. And they founded this on a law by which the cantons are obliged to deliver up the criminals of another canton when they come among them, if they are demanded by the canton to which they belong. But thoſe of Zurich

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and Bern thought this was both inhumane and unchriſtian; though the deputy of Baſil was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up; which extremely diſguſted thoſe of Zurich. Thoſe of Schwitz committed ſome inſolencies upon the ſubjects of Zurich, and refuſed to give ſatisfaction. Upon all which a war followed between the Proteſtant and Popiſh cantons. The cantons of Bern and Zurich raiſed an army of twenty five thouſand men, which was commanded by Mr D'Erlack, but was diſperſed in ſeveral bodies: and the Papiſts, who had not above ſix thouſand, yet ſurpriſed Mr D'Erlack with a body much ſuperior to theirs. Both ſides, after a ſhort engagement, ran. The cannon of the canton of Bern was left in the field a whole day; at laſt thoſe of Lucern, ſeeing that none ſtaid to defend the cannon, carried them off. This loſs raiſed ſuch a tumult in Bern, that they ſeemed reſolved to ſacrifice Mr D'Erlack; but he came with ſuch a preſence of mind, and gave ſo ſatisfying an account of the misfortune, that the tumult ceaſed, and ſoon after the war ended. Upon this many thought, that though the Papiſts acted cruelly; yet it was according to their laws, and that no other canton could pretend to interpoſe or quarrel with thoſe of Schwitz for what they did upon that occaſion. Within theſe few years there were ſome quarrels like to ariſe in the canton of Glaris; where it was ſaid, that the equal privileges agreed on to both religions were not preſerved. But on this occaſion the Pope's nuncio acted a very different part from that which might have been expected from him. For whereas the miniſters of that court have been commonly the incendiaries in all the diſputes that concern religion, he acted rather the part of a mediator. And whereas it was viſible, that the injuſtice lay on the ſide of the Papiſts, he interpoſed

ſed ſo effectually with thoſe of Lucern, which is the chief of the Popiſh cantons, that the difference was compoſed.

But to return to Bern. The buildings have neither great magnificence, nor many apartments; but they are convenient, and ſuited to the way of living in that country. The ſtreets not only of Bern and the bigger towns, but even of the ſmalleſt villages, are furniſhed with fountains that run continually; which, as they are of great uſe, ſo they want not their beauty. The great church of Bern is a very noble fabric; but being built on the top of the hill on which the town ſtands, it ſeems the ground began to fail. So to ſupport it they have raiſed a vaſt fabric, which has coſt more than the church itſelf; for there is a platform made, which is a ſquare; to which the church is one ſide; and the farther ſide is a vaſt wall, fortified with buttreſſes about an hundred and fifty foot high. They told me, that all the ground down to the bottom of the hill was dug into vaults. This platform is the chief walk of the town, chiefly about ſunſet; and the river underneath preſents a very beautiful proſpect: for there is a cut taken off from it for the mills; but all along as this cut goes, the water of the Aar runs over a ſloping bank of ſtone, which they ſay was made at a vaſt charge, and makes a noble and large caſcade.

The ſecond church is the Dominicans chapel; where I ſaw the famous hole that went to an image in the church from one of the cells of the Dominicans; which leads me to ſet down that ſtory at ſome length: for as it was one of the moſt ſignal cheats that the world has known, ſo it falling out about twenty years before the reformation was received at Bern, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the ſpirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular

ticular account of it, becauſe I read the original proceſs in the Latin record, ſigned by the notaries of the court of delegates that the Pope ſent to try the matter. The record is above one hundred and thirty ſheets, writ cloſe on both ſides, it being indeed a large volume. And I found the printed accounts ſo defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole proceſs; of which I will give here a true abſtract.

The two famous orders that had poſſeſſed themſelves of the eſteem of thoſe dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The Dominicans were the more learned; they were the eminenteſt preachers of thoſe times, and had the conduct of the courts of inquiſition, and the other chief offices in the church, in their hands. But, on the other hand, the Franciſcans had an outward appearance of more ſeverity, a ruder habit, ſtricter rules, and greater poverty; all which gave them ſuch advantages in the eyes of the ſimple multitude, as were able to balance the other honours of the Dominican order. In ſhort, the two orders were engaged in a high rivalry; but the devotion towards the virgin being the prevailing paſſion of thoſe times, the Franciſcans upon this had great advantages. The Dominicans, that are all engaged in the defence of Thomas Aquinas's opinions, were thereby obliged to aſſert, that ſhe was born in original ſin. This was propoſed to the people by the Franciſcans as no leſs than blaſphemy; and by this the Dominicans began to loſe ground extremely in the minds of the people, who were ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the immaculate conception.

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, a Franciſcan happened to preach in Francfort; and one Wigand, a Dominican, coming into the church, the Cordelier ſeeing him, broke out into exclamations, praiſing God that he was not of an order

that profaned the virgin, or that poiſoned princes in the ſacrament, (for a Dominican had poiſoned the Emperor Henry VII. with the ſacrament). Wigand, being extremely provoked with this bloody reproach, gave him the lye; upon which a diſpute aroſe, which ended in a tumult that had almoſt coſt the Dominican his life; yet he got away. The whole order reſolved to take their revenge; and in a chapter held at Vimpſen in the year 1504, they contrived a method for ſupporting the credit of their order, which was much ſunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the Franciſcans. Four of the junto undertook to manage the deſign; for they ſaid, ſince the people were ſo much diſpoſed to believe dreams and fables, they muſt dream on their ſide, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They reſolved to make Bern the ſcene in which the project ſhould be put in execution; for they found the people of Bern at that time apt to ſwallow any thing, and not diſpoſed to make ſevere inquiries into extraordinary matters. When they had formed their deſign, a fit tool preſented itſelf: for one Jetzer came to take their habit as a lay-brother, who had all the diſpoſitions that were neceſſary for the execution of their project; for he was extreme ſimple, and much inclined to auſterities. So, having obſerved his temper well, they began to execute their project the very night after he took the habit, which was on Ladyday 1507. One of the friers conveyed himſelf ſecretly into his cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in purgatory, in a ſtrange figure; and he had a box near his mouth, upon which, as he blew, fire ſeemed to come out of his mouth. He had alſo ſome dogs about him that appeared as his tormentors. In this poſture he came near the frier while he was in bed, and took up a celebrated ſtory that they

they uſed to tell all their friers, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aſide their habit; which was, that one of the order, who was ſuperior of their houſe at Solothurn, had gone to Paris, but, laying aſide his habit, was killed in his lay-habit. The frier in the vizard ſaid he was that perſon, and was condemned to purgatory for that crime; but he added, that he might be reſcued out of it by his means; and he ſeconded this with moſt horrible cries, expreſſing the miſeries which he ſuffered. The poor frier Jetzer was exceſſively frighted; but the other advanced, and required a promiſe of him to do that which he ſhould deſire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his torment. The frighted frier promiſed all that he aſked of him. Then the other ſaid, he knew he was a great ſaint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail; but they muſt be very extraordinary. The whole monaſtery muſt for a week together diſcipline themſelves with a whip, and he muſt lie proſtrate in the form of one on a croſs in one of their chapels, while maſs was ſaid, in the ſight of all that ſhould come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he ſhould find the effects of the love that the bleſſed virgin did bear him; together with many other extraordinary things: and ſaid he would appear again, accompanied with two other ſpirits; and aſſured him, that all that he did ſuffer for his deliverance, ſhould be moſt glorioufly rewarded. Morning was no ſooner come, than the frier gave an account of this apparition to the reſt of the convent; who ſeemed extremely ſurpriſed at it. They all preſſed him to undergo the diſcipline that was injoined him, and every one undertook to bear his ſhare; ſo the deluded frier performed it all exactly in one of the chapels of their church. This drew a vaſt number of ſpectators together, who all con-

ſidered the poor frier as a ſaint; and, in the mean while, the four friers that managed the impoſture, magnified the miracle of the apparition to the ſkies in their ſermons. The frier's confeſſor was in the ſecret; and by this means they knew all the little paſſages of the poor frier's life, even to his thoughts; which helped them not a little in the conduct of the matter. The confeſſor gave him an *hoſtie*, with a piece of wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the croſs; and by theſe he was to fortify himſelf if any other apparitions ſhould come to him, ſince evil ſpirits would be certainly chained up by them. The night after that, the former apparition was renewed; and the maſked frier brought two others with him in ſuch vizards, that the frier thought they were devils indeed. The frier preſented the *hoſtie* to them; which gave them ſuch a check, that he was fully ſatisfied of the virtue of this preſervative.

The frier that pretended he was ſuffering in purgatory, ſaid ſo many things to him relating to the ſecrets of his life and thoughts, which he had from his confeſſor, that the poor frier was fully poſſeſſed with the opinion of the reality of the apparition. In two of theſe apparitions, that were both managed in the ſame manner, the frier in the maſk talked much of the Dominican order, which, he ſaid, was exceſſively dear to the bleſſed virgin, who knew herſelf to be conceived in original ſin; and that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory: that the ſtory of St Bernard's appearing with a ſpot on him, for having oppoſed himſelf to the feaſt of the conception, was a forgery; but that it was true, that ſome hideous flies had appeared on St Bonaventure's tomb, who taught the contrary: that the bleſſed virgin abhorred the Cordeliers for making her equal to her ſon: that Scotus was damned, whoſe canonization

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the Cordeliers were then ſoliciting hard at Rome; and that the town of Bern would be deſtroyed for harbouring ſuch plagues within their walls. When the injoined diſcipline was fully performed, the ſpirit appeared again, and ſaid, he was now delivered out of purgatory; but before he could be admitted to heaven, he muſt receive the ſacrament, having died without it; and after that he would ſay maſs for thoſe who had by their great charities reſcued him out of his pains. The frier fancied the voice reſembled the prior's a little; but he was then ſo far from ſuſpecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this ſuſpicion. Some days after this the ſame frier appeared as a nun all in glory, and told the poor frier, that ſhe was St Barbara, for whom he had a particular devotion; and added, that the bleſſed virgin was ſo much pleaſed with his charity, that ſhe intended to come and viſit him. He immediately called the convent together, and gave the reſt of the friers an account of this apparition; which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the frier languiſhed in deſires of the accompliſhment of the promiſe that St Barbara had made him. After ſome days the longed-for deluſion appeared to him, clothed as the virgin uſed to be on the great feaſts, and indeed in the ſame habits. There were about her ſome angels, which he afterwards found were the little ſtatues of angels which they ſet on the altars on the great holidays. There was alſo a pulley faſtened in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the angels, that made them riſe up in the air, and fleet about the virgin; which increaſed the deluſion. The virgin, after ſome endearments to himſelf, extolling the merit of his charity and diſcipline, told him, that ſhe was conceived in original ſin; and that Pope Julius II. that then reigned, was to put an end to the diſpute, and was to abo-

liſh the feaſt of her conception, which Sixtus IV. had inſtituted; and that the frier was to be the inſtrument of perſuading the Pope of the truth in that matter. She gave him three drops of her ſon's blood, which were three tears of blood that he had ſhed over Jeruſalem; and this ſignified, that ſhe was three hours in original ſin, after which ſhe was by his mercy delivered out of that ſtate. For it ſeems the Dominicans were reſolved ſo to compound the matter, that they ſhould gain the main point, of her conception in ſin; yet they would comply ſo far with the reverence for the virgin, with which the world was poſſeſſed, that ſhe ſhould be believed to have remained a very ſhort while in that ſtate. She gave him alſo five drops of blood in the form of a croſs, which were tears of blood that ſhe had ſhed while her ſon was on the croſs. And to convince him more fully, ſhe preſented an *hoſtie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary *hoſtie*, and of a ſudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of thoſe ſuppoſed viſits was often repeated to the abuſed frier. At laſt the virgin told him, that ſhe was to give ſuch marks of her ſon's love to him, that the matter ſhould be paſt all doubt. She ſaid, that the five wounds of St Lucia and St Catharine were real wounds, and that ſhe would alſo imprint them on him; ſo ſhe bid him reach his hand. He had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to ſuffer ſo much; but ſhe forced his hand, and ſtruck a nail through it. The hole was as big as a grain of peaſe, and he ſaw the candle clearly through it. This threw him out of a ſuppoſed tranſport into a real agony. But ſhe ſeemed to touch his hand; and he thought he ſmelt an ointment with which ſhe anointed it, though his confeſſor perſuaded him that that was only an imagination. So the ſuppoſed virgin left him for that time.

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The next night the apparition returned, and brought ſome linen cloaths, which had ſome real or imaginary virtue to allay his torment; and the pretended virgin ſaid, they were ſome of the linen in which Chriſt was wrapped; and with that ſhe gave him a ſoporiferous draught, and, while he was faſt aſleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body in ſuch a manner that he felt no pain.

But, in order to the doing of this, the friers betook themſelves to charms; and the ſub-prior ſhewed the reſt a book full of them; but he ſaid, that, before they could be effectual, they muſt renounce God: and he not only did this himſelf, but, by a formal act put in writing, ſigned with his blood, dedicated himſelf to the devil. It is true, he did not oblige the reſt to this, but only to renounce God. The compoſition of the draught was a mixture of ſome fountain-water and chriſm, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, ſome quick-ſilver, ſome grains of incenſe, ſomewhat of an Eaſter wax-candle, ſome conſecrated ſalt, and the blood of an unbaptized child. This compoſition was a ſecret, which the ſub-prior did not communicate to the other friers. By this the poor frier Jetzer was made almoſt quite inſenſible. When he was awake, and came out of this deep ſleep, he felt this wonderful impreſſion on his body; and now he was raviſhed out of meaſure, and came to fancy himſelf to be acting all the parts of our Saviour's paſſion. He was expoſed to the people on the great altar, to the amazement of the whole town, and to the no ſmall mortification of the Franciſcans. The Dominicans gave him ſome other draughts, that threw him into convulſions; and when he came out of thoſe, a voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains, and runs from one of the cells along a great part

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of the wall of the church: for a frier ſpoke through a pipe, and at the end of the hole there was an image of the virgin, with a little *Jeſus* in her arms, between whom and his mother the voice ſeemed to come. The image alſo ſeemed to ſhed tears; and a painter had drawn thoſe on her face ſo lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little *Jeſus* aſked, Why ſhe wept? and ſhe ſaid, It was becauſe his honour was given to her; ſince it was ſaid that ſhe was born without ſin. In concluſion, the friers did ſo over-act this matter, that at laſt even the poor deluded frier himſelf came to diſcover it, and reſolved to quit the order.

It was in vain to delude him with more apparitions; for he well nigh killed a frier that came to him perſonating the virgin in another ſhape with a crown on her head. He alſo overheard the friers once talking amongſt themſelves of the contrivance and ſucceſs of the impoſture ſo plainly, that he diſcovered the whole matter; and upon that, as may be eaſily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which ſuch a diſcovery could inſpire him.

The friers, fearing that an impoſture, which was carried on with ſo much ſucceſs, ſhould be quite ſpoiled, and be turned againſt them, thought the ſureſt way was, to own the whole matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the cheat. They told him in what eſteem he would be, if he continued to ſupport the reputation that he had acquired; that he would become the chief perſon of the order; and in the end they perſuaded him to go on with the impoſture. But at laſt, they fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover all, reſolved to poiſon him; of which he was ſo apprehenſive, that once a loaf being brought him that was prepared with ſome ſpices, he kept it for ſome time, and it growing green, he threw it to ſome wolves whelps that were in the monaſtery, who died immediately. His conſtitution

ſtitution was alſo ſo vigorous, that though they gave him poiſon five ſeveral times, he was not deſtroyed by it. They alſo preſſed him earneſtly to renounce God; which they judged neceſſary, that ſo their charms might have their effect on him; but he never would conſent to that. At laſt they forced him to take a poiſoned *hoſtie*, which yet he vomited up ſoon after he had ſwallowed it down. That failing, they uſed him ſo cruelly, whipping him with an iron chain, and girding him about ſo ſtrait with it, that, to avoid farther torment, he ſwore to them in a moſt imprecating ſtyle, that he would never diſcover the ſecret, but would ſtill carry it on; and ſo he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the convent, and of throwing himſelf into the hands of the magiſtrates, to whom he diſcovered all.

The four friers were ſeized on, and put in priſon; and an account of the whole matter was ſent, firſt to the Biſhop of Lauſanne, and then to Rome: and it may eaſily be imagined, that the Franciſcans took all poſſible care to have it well examined. The Biſhops of Lauſanne and of Zyon, with the Provincial of the Dominicans, were appointed to form the proceſs. The four friers firſt excepted to Jetzer's credit; but that was rejected. Then being threatened with the queſtion, they put in a long plea againſt that: but though the Provincial would not conſent to that, yet they were put to the queſtion. Some endured it long; but at laſt they all confeſſed the whole progreſs of the impoſture. The Provincial appeared concerned: for though Jetzer had opened the whole matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them; and one of the friers ſaid plainly, that he was in the whole ſecret; and ſo he withdrew. But he died ſome days after at Conſtance, having poiſoned himſelf, as was believed.

lieved. The matter lay asleep some time. But a year after that, a Spanish Bishop came, authorised with full power from Rome; and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friers were solemnly degraded from their priesthood; and eight days after, it being the last of May 1509, they were burnt in a meadow on the other side of the river, over-against the great church. The place of their execution was shewed me, as well as the hole in the wall through which the voice was conveyed to the image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best carried on cheat that has been ever known; and no doubt had the poor frier died before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity as one of the greatest miracles that ever was: and it gives a shrewd suspicion, that many of the other miracles of that church were of the same nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any farther with the state of Bern; but shall only add one general remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection. It belongs in general to all the cantons; but I give it here, because I had more occasion to make it in Bern, having seen it more, and staid longer in it, than in the other cantons.

Switzerland lies between France and Italy, that are both of them countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with all the pleasures and conveniencies of life, than it is; and yet Italy is almost quite dispeopled, and the people in it are reduced to a misery that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it: and France is in a great measure dispeopled, and the inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can shew itself, both in their houses, furniture, cloaths, and looks.

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On the contrary, Switzerland is extreme full of people; and in ſeveral places, in the villages as well as in their towns, one ſees all the marks he can look for of plenty and wealth; their houſes and windows are in good caſe, the high-ways are well maintained, all people are well clothed, and every one lives at his eaſe. This obſervation ſurpriſed me yet more in the country of the Griſons, who have hardly any ſoil at all, being ſituated in valleys that are almoſt all waſhed away with the torrents that fall down from the hills, and ſwell their brooks ſometimes ſo violently and ſo ſuddenly, that in many places the whole ſoil is waſhed away; and yet thoſe valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at eaſe under a gentle government: whilſt other rich and plentiful countries are reduced to ſuch miſery, that as many of the inhabitants are forced to change their ſeats, ſo thoſe who ſtay behind can ſcarce live, and pay thoſe grievous impoſitions that are laid upon them. The rude people generally reaſon very ſimply when they enter into ſpeculations of government; but *they feel true, though they argue falſe*. So an eaſy government, though joined to an ill ſoil, and accompanied with great inconveniencies, draws, or at leaſt keeps people in it; whereas a ſevere government, though in general ideas it may appear reaſonable, drives its ſubjects even out of the beſt and moſt deſirable ſeats.

In my way from Bern to this place, I paſſed by Solothurn; and I came through Fribourg, in my way from Lauſanne to Bern. Theſe are two of the chief of the Popiſh cantons after Lucern; and one ſees in them a heat and bigotry beyond what appears either in France or Italy. Long before they come within the church-doors, they kneel down in the ſtreets when maſs is ſaying in it. The images are alſo extreme groſs. In the chief church

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of Solothurn, there is an image of God the Father as an old man, with a great black beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a pigeon over his head. Here alſo begins a devotion at the *Ave-Mary* bell, which is ſcarce known in France, but is practiſed all Italy over. At noon and at ſun-ſet the bell rings, and all ſay the *Ave-Mary*, and a ſhort prayer to the virgin. But whereas in Italy they content themſelves with putting off their hats, in Switzerland they do for the moſt part kneel down in the ſtreets; which I ſaw no where practiſed in Italy, except at Venice, and there it is not commonly done. But, notwithſtanding this extreme bigotry, all the Switzers ſee their common intereſt ſo well, that they live in a very good underſtanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the canton of Lucern, where there is a ſpirit in the government very different from what is in moſt of the other Popiſh cantons. The reſidence of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and of the nuncio, in that town, contributes alſo much to the preſerving it in ſo good a temper, it being their intereſt to unite Switzerland; and by this means the heat and indiſcretion of the reſt is often moderated. The Jeſuits begin to grow as powerful in Switzerland as they are elſewhere; they have a noble college and chapel ſituated in the beſt place of Fribourg. It is not long ſince they were received at Solothurn, where there was a revenue of a thouſand livres a-year ſet off for the maintenance of ten of them; with this proviſion, that they ſhould never exceed that number. But where they are once ſettled, they find means to break through all limitations; and they are now become ſo rich there, that they are raiſing a church and college, which will coſt above four hundred thouſand livres, to which the French King gives ten thouſand livres for the frontiſpiece: for this being the canton in which

which his ambaſſador reſides, he thought it ſuitable to his glory to have a monument of his bounty raiſed by an order that will never be wanting to flatter their benefactors, as long as they find their account in it.

In the ſame canton there is an abbey that has an hundred thouſand livres of revenue. There is alſo a very rich houſe of nuns that wear the Capuchins habit, that, as I was told, had ſixty thouſand livres of revenue, and but ſixty nuns in it; who, having thus a thouſand livres a-piece, may live in all poſſible plenty, in a country where a very little money goes a great way. But that which ſurpriſes one moſt at Solothurn, is, the great fortification of a wall that they are building about the town, the nobleſt and ſolideſt that is any where to be ſeen. The ſtone with which it is faced, is a ſort of coarſe marble, but of that bigneſs, that many ſtones are ten foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickneſs: but though this be a work of vaſt expence, and great beauty, yet it would ſignify little againſt a great army that would attack it vigorouſly. The wall is finiſhed on the ſide of the river on which the town ſtands, the ditch is very broad, and the counterſcarp and glacis are alſo finiſhed; and they are working at a fort on the other ſide of the river, which they intend to fortify in the ſame manner. This has coſt them near two millions of livres; and this vaſt expence has made them often repent the undertaking: and it is certain, that a fortification that is able to reſiſt the rage of their peaſants in the caſe of a rebellion, is all that is needful. This canton has two *advoyers*, as Bern; the little council conſiſts of thirty-ſix; they have twelve *bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them; they have one *burſar*, and but one *banneret*. All the cantons have their *bailiages*; but if there are diſorders at

Bern in the choice of their *bailiffs*, there are far greater among the Popiſh cantons, where all things are ſold, as a foreign miniſter that reſides there told me; who, though he knew what my religion was, did not ſtick to own frankly to me, that the Catholic cantons were not near ſo well governed as the Proteſtant cantons. Juſtice is generally ſold among them; and in their treaties with foreign princes, they have ſometimes taken money both from the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, and have ſigned contradictory articles at the ſame time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient ſituation; which makes it the ſeat of the general diet of the cantons, though it is not one of them, but is a *bailiage* that belongs in common to eight of the ancient cantons. At laſt I came to this place, which as it is the firſt and moſt honourable of all the cantons, ſo, with relation to us, it has a precedence of a higher nature, it being the firſt that received the reformation.

This canton is much leſs than Bern, yet the public is much richer. They reckon that they can bring fifty thouſand men together upon twenty-four hours warning. Their ſubjects live happy: for the *bailiffs* here have regulated appointments, and have only the hundredth penny of the fines; ſo that they are not tempted as thoſe of Bern are, to whom the fine belongs entirely, to ſtrain matters againſt their ſubjects. And whereas at Bern the conſtant intrigue of the whole town is concerning their *bailiages*; here, on the contrary, it is a ſervice to which the citizens are bound to ſubmit according to their conſtitution, but to which they do not aſpire. The government is almoſt the ſame as at Bern; and the magiſtrate that is called the *advoyer* at Bern, is here called the *burgomaſter*. The revenue of the ſtate is here juſtly accounted for, ſo that the public purſe is much richer than at Bern; the

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arſenal is much better furniſhed, and the fortifications are more regular. There is a great trade ſtirring here; and as their lake, that is twenty-four miles long, and about two or three broad, ſupplies them well with proviſions, ſo their rivers carry their manufacture to the Rhine, from whence it is conveyed as they pleaſe. One of their chief manufactures is crape, which is in all reſpects the beſt I ever ſaw. I will not deſcribe the ſituation of the town, but ſhall content myſelf to tell you, that it is extreme pleaſant. The country about it is mountainous, and the winters are hard; for the lake freezes quite over; only in ſome places the ice never lies, which is believed a mark that ſome ſprings riſe there, which cauſe that heat. So alſo in the lake of Geneva, though it is never quite frozen, yet great flakes of ice lie in ſeveral parts; but theſe are never ſeen in ſome parts of the lake, which is ſuppoſed to flow from the ſame cauſe.

But to return to Zurich. One ſees here the true ancient ſimplicity of the Switzers, not corrupted with luxury or vanity. Their women not only do not converſe familiarly with men, except thoſe of their near kindred, but even in the ſtreets do not make any returns to the civility of ſtrangers; for it is only ſtrangers that put off their hats to women, but they make no courteſies: and here, as in all Switzerland, women are not ſaluted, but the civility is expreſſed by taking them by the hand. There is one thing ſingular in the conſtitution of Zurich; that is, their little council conſiſts of fifty perſons, but there ſit in it only twenty-five at a time; and ſo the two halves of this council, as each of them has his proper *burgomaſter*, have alſo the government in their hands by turns; and they ſhift every ſix months, at Midſummer, and at Chriſtmas. The whole canton is divided into nine great *bailiages*, and twenty-one *caſtellaneries*: in the for-

mer the *bailiff* reſides conſtantly; but the *caſtellan*, who is alſo one of the great council, has ſo little to do, that he lives at Zurich, and goes only at ſome ſet times of the year to do juſtice.

The virtue of this canton has appeared ſignally in their adhering firmly to the ancient capitulations with the French, and not ſlackening in any article, which has been done by all the other cantons, where money has a ſovereign influence; but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient revenues of the church more generally to pious uſes, than has been done any where elſe that I know of. They have many hoſpitals well entertained; in one, as I was told, there was ſix hundred and fifty poor kept: but as they ſupport the real charities which belong to ſuch endowments, ſo they deſpiſe that vain magnificence of buildings, which is too generally affected elſewhere; for theirs are very plain: and one of the government there ſaid to me very ſenſibly, *That they thought it enough to maintain their poor as poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as princes.*

The dean and chapter are likewiſe ſtill continued as a corporation, and enjoy the revenues which they had before the reformation: but if they ſubſiſt plentifully, they labour hard; for they have generally two or three ſermons a-day, and at leaſt one; the firſt begins at five o'clock in the morning. At Geneva, and all Switzerland over, there are daily ſermons, which were ſubſtituted upon the reformation from the maſs. But the ſermons are generally too long, and the preachers have departed from the firſt deſign of theſe ſermons, which were intended to be an explication of a whole chapter, and an exhortation upon it; and if this were ſo contriyed, that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the people with leſs wearineſs, and more profit, ſo it would

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be a vaſt advantage to the preachers: for as it would oblige them to ſtudy the ſcriptures much; ſo having once made themſelves maſters of the practical parts of the ſcripture, ſuch ſhort and ſimple diſcourſes would coſt them leſs pains than thoſe more laboured ſermons do, which conſume the greateſt part of their time, and too often to very little purpoſe.

Among the archives of the dean and chapter, there is a vaſt collection of letters, written either to Bullinger, or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many volumes in folio; and out of theſe no doubt but one might diſcover a great many particulars relating to the hiſtory of the reformation: for as Bullinger lived long, ſo he was much eſteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to ſome of our Engliſh exiles in Queen Mary's reign; in particular to Sands, afterwards Archbiſhop of York; to Horn, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter; and to Jewel, Biſhop of Saliſbury. He gave them lodgings in the Cloſe, and uſed them with all poſſible kindneſs: and as they preſented ſome ſilver cups to the college, with an inſcription, acknowledging the kind reception they had found there, which I ſaw; ſo they continued to keep a conſtant correſpondence with Bullinger after the happy re-eſtabliſhment of the reformation under Queen Eliſabeth; of which I read almoſt a whole volume while I was there. Moſt of them contain only the general news; but ſome were more important, and relate to the diſputes then on foot concerning the habits of the clergy, which gave the firſt beginnings to our unhappy diviſions. And by the letters, of which I read the originals, it appears, that the Biſhops preſerved the ancient habits, rather in compliance with the Queen's inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; ſo far they were from liking them,

that they plainly expreſſed their diſlike of them. Jewel, in a letter bearing date Feb. 8. 1566, wiſhes that *the veſtments, together with all the other remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their churches, and out of the minds of the people*; and laments the Queen's fixedneſs to them, ſo that ſhe would ſuffer no change to be made. And in January of the ſame year, Sands writes to the ſame purpoſe: *Contenditur de veſtibus Papiſticis utendis vel non utendis; dabit Deus his quoque finem*; "Diſputes are now on foot "concerning the Popiſh veſtments, whether they "ſhould be uſed or not; but God will put an end "to thoſe things." Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter, went further: for, in a letter dated July 16. 1565, he writes of the act concerning the habits with great regret, and expreſſes ſome hopes that it might be repealed next ſeſſion of parliament, if the Popiſh party did not hinder it; and he ſeems to ſtand in doubt whether he ſhould conform himſelf to it or not: upon which he deſires Bullinger's advice. And in many letters writ on that ſubject, it is aſſerted, that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an act for aboliſhing the habits; and that they only defended their lawfulneſs, but not their fitneſs: and therefore they blamed private perſons that refuſed to obey the laws. Grindal, in a letter dated Auguſt 27. 1566, writes, That all the Biſhops who had been beyond ſea, had, at their return, dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the habits fall; but ſhe was ſo prepoſſeſſed, that though they had all endeavoured to divert her from proſecuting that matter, ſhe continued ſtill inflexible. This had made them reſolve to ſubmit to the laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverſe them. He laments the ill effects of the oppoſition that ſome had made to them, which had extremely irritated the Queen's ſpirit, ſo that ſhe was now much more heated in thoſe matters than formerly. He alſo

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thanks Bullinger for the letter that he had writ, juſtifying the lawful uſe of the habits; which, he ſays, had done great ſervice. Cox, Biſhop of Ely, in one of his letters, laments the averſion that they found in the parliament to all the propoſitions that were made for the reformation of abuſes. Jewel, in a letter dated May 22. 1559, writes, That the Queen refuſed to be called head of the church; and adds, That that title could not be juſtly given to any mortal, it being due only to *Chriſt*; and that ſuch titles had been ſo much abuſed by *Antichriſt*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all theſe paſſages I will make no reflections here; for I ſet them down only to ſhew what was the ſenſe of our chief churchmen at that time concerning thoſe matters which have ſince engaged us in ſuch warm and angry diſputes; and this may be no inconſiderable inſtruction to one that intends to write the hiſtory of that time. The laſt particular with which I intend to end this letter, might ſeem a little too learned, if I were writing to a leſs knowing man than yourſelf.

I have taken ſome pains in my travels to examine all the ancient manuſcripts of the New Teſtament, concerning that doubted paſſage of St John's epiſtles, *There are three that bear witneſs in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe three are one.* Bullinger doubted much of it, becauſe he found it not in an ancient Latin manuſcript at Zurich, which ſeems to be about eight hundred years old; for it is written in that hand that began to be uſed in Charles the Great's time. I turned the manuſcript, and found the paſſage was not there. But this was certainly the error or omiſſion of the copier: for, before the general epiſtles in that manuſcript, the preface of St Jerome is to be found; in which he ſays, that he was the more exact in that tranſlation, that ſo he might diſcover the fraud

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of the Arians, who had ſtruck out that paſſage concerning the Trinity. This preface is printed in Lira's Bible; but how it came to be left out by Eraſmus, in his edition of that father's works, is that of which I can give no account. For as, on the one hand, Eraſmus's ſincerity ought not to be too raſhly cenſured; ſo, on the other hand, that preface being in all the manuſcripts ancient or modern, of thoſe Bibles that have the other prefaces in them, that I ever yet ſaw, it is not eaſy to imagine what made Eraſmus not to publiſh it. And it is in the manuſcript Bibles at Baſil, where he printed his edition of St Jerome's works. In the old manuſcript Bible of Geneva, that ſeems to be above ſeven hundred years old, both the preface and the paſſage are extant; but with this difference from the common editions, that the common editions ſet the verſe concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the water, the blood, and the ſpirit*, which comes after it in this copy. And that I may in this place end all the readings I found of this paſſage in my travels, there is a manuſcript in St Mark's library in Venice in three languages, Grek, Latin, and Arabic, that ſeems not above four hundred years old, in which this paſſage is not in the Greek; but it is in the Latin ſet after the other three, with a *ſicut* to join it to what goes before. And in a manuſcript Latin Bible in the library of St Laurence at Florence, both St Jerome's preface and this paſſage are extant. But this paſſage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *ſicut*, as is that of Venice; yet *ſicut* is not in the Geneva manuſcript. There are two Greek manuſcripts of the epiſtles at Baſil, that ſeem to be about five hundred years old, in neither of which this paſſage is to be found. They have alſo an ancient Latin Bible, which is about eight hundred years old; in which though St Jerome's prologue

prologue is inſerted, yet this paſſage is wanting. At Straſburg I ſaw four very ancient manuſcripts of the New Teſtament in Latin. Three of theſe ſeemed to be about the time of Charles the Great; but the fourth ſeemed to be much ancienter, and may belong to the ſeventh century. In it neither the prologue nor the place is extant; but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other, the prologue is extant, but the place is not; only in one of them it is added on the margin. In the fourth, as the prologue is extant, ſo is the place likewiſe; but it comes after the verſe of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *Sicut tres ſunt in cælo.*

It ſeemed ſtrange to me, and it is almoſt incredible, that in the Vatican library there are no ancient Latin Bibles; where, above all other places, they ought to be looked for: but I ſaw none above four hundred years old. There is indeed the famous Greek manuſcript of great value, which the Chanoine Shelſtrat, who was library-keeper, aſſerted to be one thouſand four hundred years old, and proved it by the great ſimilitude of the characters with thoſe that are upon St Hippolite's ſtatue; which is ſo evident, that, if his ſtatue was made about his time, the antiquity of this manuſcript is not to be diſputed. If the characters are not ſo fair, and have not all the marks of antiquity that appear in the King's manuſcript at St James's, yet this has been much better preſerved, and is much more entire. The paſſage that has led me into this digreſſion, is not to be found in the Vatican manuſcript, no more than it is in the King's manuſcript. And with this I will finiſh my account of Zurich. The public library is very noble. The hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; and there is a very handſome cabinet of medals; and ſo I will breaſt off. But when I

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have gone ſo much farther, that I have gathered materials for another letter of this volume, you may look for a ſecond entertainment, ſuch as it is, from,

Your, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Told you, that in Bern the *bailiages* are given by a ſort of ballot, which is ſo managed, that no man's vote is known. But I muſt now add, that ſince I was firſt there they have made a conſiderable regulation in the way of voting, when offices are to be given; which approaches much nearer the Venetian method, and which expoſes the competitors more to chance, and by conſequence may put an end to the intrigues that are ſo much in uſe for obtaining thoſe employments. There is a number of balls put into a box, equal to the number of thoſe that have a right to vote, and that are preſent; of theſe the third part is gilt, and two parts are only ſilvered: ſo every one takes out a ball; but none can vote, except thoſe who have the gilt balls; ſo that hereafter a man may have more than two thirds ſure, and yet be caſt in a competition.

There is one thing for which the Switzers, in particular thoſe of Bern, cannot be enough commended. They have, ever ſince the perſecution begun firſt in France, opened a ſanctuary to ſuch as have retired thither, in ſo generous and ſo Chriſtian a manner, that it deſerves all the honourable remembrances that can be made of it. Such miniſters and others that were at firſt condemned in France, for the affair of the Cevennes, have not only found a kind reception here, but all the ſupport that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reaſon expected: for they have aſſigned the French miniſters a penſion of five crowns a-month, if they were unmarried, and have

increaſed

increaſed it to ſuch as had wife and children; ſo that ſome had above ten crowns a-month penſion. They diſperſed them all over the Pais de Vaud; but the greateſt number ſtaid at Lauſanne and Vevay. In order to the ſupporting of this charge, the charities of Zurich and the other neighbouring Proteſtant ſtates were brought hither. Not only the Proteſtant cantons, but the Griſons, and ſome ſmall ſtates that are under the protection of the cantons, ſuch as Neufchatel, St Gall, and ſome others, have ſent in their charities to Bern; who diſpenſe them with great diſcretion, and bear what farther charge this relief brings upon them. And in this laſt total and deplorable diſperſion of thoſe churches, the whole country has been animated with ſuch a ſpirit of charity and compaſſion, that every man's houſe and purſe has been opened to the refugees; who have paſſed thither in ſuch numbers, that ſometimes there have been above two thouſand in Lauſanne alone; and of theſe there were at one time near two hundred miniſters: and they all met with a kindneſs and freeheartedneſs, that looked more like ſomewhat of the primitive age revived, than the degeneracy of the age in which we live.

I ſhall conclude this poſtſcript, which is already ſwelled to the bigneſs of a letter, with a ſad inſtance of the anger and heat that riſes among divines concerning matters of very ſmall conſequence.

The middle way that Amirald, Daillé, and ſome others in France, took in the matters that were diſputed in Holland concerning the divine decrees, and the extent of the death of Chriſt, as it came to be generally followed in France, ſo it had ſome aſſertors both in Geneva and Switzerland; who denied the imputation of Adam's ſin, and aſſerted the univerſality of Chriſt's death, together with a ſufficient

ficient grace given to all men; asserting with this, a particular and free decree of election, with an efficacious grace for those included in it. These came to be called *Universalists*, and began to grow very considerable in Geneva, two of the professors of divinity there being known to favour those opinions. Upon this, those who adhered strictly to the opposite doctrine were inflamed; and the contention grew to that height, that almost the whole town came to be concerned, and all were divided into parties. If upon this the magistrates had injoined silence to both parties, they had certainly acted wisely; for these are speculations so little certain, and so little essential to religion, that a diversity of opinions ought not to be made the occasion of heat or faction. But though the party of the Universalists was considerable in Geneva, it was very small in Switzerland; therefore some divines there, that adhered to the old received doctrine, drew up some articles; in which all these doctrines were not only condemned, together with some speculations that were asserted concerning Adam's immortality, and other qualities belonging to the state of innocency; but because Capel and some other critics had not only asserted the novelty of the points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the Hebrew, supposing that some errors had been committed by the copiers of the Bible, both in the vowels and consonants; in opposition to this, they condemned all corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and asserted the antiquity of the points, or at least of the power and reading according to them: by which, though they did not engage all to be of Buxtorf's opinion as to the antiquity of the points, yet they shut the door against all corrections of the present punctuation. If this consent of doctrine (for so they termed it) had been made only the standard, against which no man might

might have taught without incurring cenſures, the ſeverity had been more tolerable. But they obliged all ſuch as ſhould be admitted either to the miniſtry, or to a profeſſor's chair, to ſign *Sic ſentio*, "So "I think." And this being ſo ſettled at Bern and Zurich, it was alſo carried by their authority at Geneva; but for thoſe in office, the moderator and clerk ſigned it in all their names. And thus they were not contented to make only a regulation in thoſe matters; but they would needs, according to a maxim that hath been ſo often fatal to the church, enter into people's conſciences, and either ſhut out young men from employments, or impoſe a teſt upon them, which perhaps ſome have ſigned not without ſtrugglings in their conſcience. Yet ſome that ſet on this teſt, or conſent, are men of ſuch extraordinary worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a ſincere zeal for that which they believe to be the truth; only I wiſh they had larger and freer ſouls.

The only conſiderable tax under which the Switzers lie, is, that when eſtates are ſold, the fifth part of the price belongs to the public; and all the abatement that the bailiff can make, is to bring it to a ſixth part. This they call the *lod*, which is derived from *alodium*. Only there are ſome lands that are *frank-alod*, which lie not under this tax. But this falling only on the ſellers of eſtates, it was thought a juſt puniſhment and wiſe reſtraint on ill huſbands of their eſtates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have given you of the derivation of *advoyer*, when I found that in ſome ſmall towns in the canton of Bern the chief magiſtrate is ſtill ſo called; as in Payerne. So that I make no doubt, but as the ancient magiſtrates in the time of the Romans, that were to give an account of the town, were called *advocates*; and afterwards the judge in civil mat-

ters, that was named by the biſhops, was called at firſt *advocat*, and afterwards *vidam* or *vicedominus*; ſo this was the title that was ſtill continued in Bern while they were under the Auſtrian and German yoke, and was preſerved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps touched too ſlightly on the laſt difference that was in Switzerland, which related to the canton of Glaris. In the canton of Appenzel, as the two religions are tolerated, ſo they are ſeparated in different quarters. Thoſe of one religion have the one half of the canton, and thoſe of the other religion have the other half; ſo they live apart. But in Glaris they are mixed; and now the number of the Papiſts is become very low. One aſſured me, there were not above two hundred families of that religion; and thoſe are alſo ſo poor, that their neceſſities diſpoſe ſome of them every day to change their religion. The other Popiſh cantons ſeeing the danger of loſing their intereſt entirely in that canton, and being ſet on by the intrigues of a court that has underſtood well the policy of imbroiling all other ſtates, made great uſe of ſome complaints that were brought by the Papiſts of Glaris, as if the prevailing of the other religion expoſed them to much injuſtice and oppreſſion; and upon that they propoſed, that the canton ſhould be equally divided into two halves, as Appenzel was. This was extremely unjuſt; ſince the Papiſts were not the tenth, or perhaps the twentieth part of the canton. It is true, it was ſo ſituated in the midſt of the Popiſh cantons, that the Proteſtant cantons could not eaſily come to their aſſiſtance. But thoſe of Glaris reſolved to die, rather than ſuffer this injuſtice; and the Proteſtant cantons reſolved to enage in a war with the Popiſh cantons, if they impoſed this matter on their brethren at Glaris. At laſt this temper was found, that

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in all ſuits of law between thoſe of different religions, two thirds of the judges ſhould be always of the religion of the defendant. But while this conteſt was on foot, thoſe who (as is believed) fomented it, if they did not ſet it on, knew how to make their advantage of the conjuncture; for then was the fortification of Hunningen at the ports of Baſil much advanced, of the importance of which they are now very apprehenſive when it is too late. There are ſix noble families in Bern that have ſtill this privilege, that when any of them are choſen to be of the council, they take place before all the ancient counſellors; whereas all the reſt take place according to the order in which they were choſen to be of the council.

LETTER II.

AFter a ſhort ſtay at Zurich, we went down the lake, where we paſſed under the bridge at Ripperſwood; which is a very noble work for ſuch a country. The lake is there about half a mile broad. The bridge is about twelve foot broad, but hath no rails on either ſide; ſo that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the lake. And this ſame defect I found in almoſt all the bridges in Lombardy; which ſeemed very ſtrange; for ſince that defence is made at ſo ſmall an expence, it was amazing to ſee bridges ſo naked; and that was more ſurpriſing in ſome places, where the bridges are both high and long: yet I never heard of any miſchief that followed on this; but thoſe are ſober countries, where drinking is not much in uſe. After two days journey, we came to Coire, which is the chief town of the Griſons, and where we found a

general diet of the three leagues ſitting; ſo that having ſtaid ten days there, I came to be informed of a great many particulars concerning thoſe leagues which are not commonly known. The town is but little, and may contain between four and five thouſand ſouls. It lies in a bottom, upon a ſmall brook, that a little below the town falls into the Rhine. It is invironed with mountains on all hands; ſo that they have a very ſhort ſummer; for the ſnow is not melted till May or June, and it began to ſnow in September when I was there. On a riſing ground at the eaſt-end of the town is the cathedral, the biſhop's palace, and the cloſe where the dean and ſix prebendaries live. All within the cloſe are Papiſts, but all the town are Proteſtants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high on the hill, one goes up by a ſteep aſcent to St Lucius's chapel. My curioſity carried me thither; though I gave no faith to the legend of King Lucius, and of his coming ſo far from home to be the apoſtle of the Griſons. His chapel is a little vault about ten foot ſquare; where there is an altar, and where maſs is ſaid upon ſome great feſtivals. It is ſituated under a natural arch that is in the rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the cell of a hermit. From it ſome drops of a ſmall fountain fall down near the chapel. The Biſhop aſſured me, it had a miraculous virtue for weak eyes, and that it was oily; but neither taſte nor feeling could diſcover to me any oilineſs. I believe it may be very good for the eyes, as all rock-water is. But when I offered to ſhew the good old Biſhop, that the legend of Lucius was a fable in all the parts of it, but moſt remarkably in that which related to the Griſons; and that we had no Kings in Britain at that time, but were a province to the Romans; that no ancient authors ſpeak of it, Bede being the

firſt that mentions it; and that the pretended letter to Pope Eleutherius, together with his anſwer, has evident characters of forgery in it: all this ſignified nothing to the Biſhop; who aſſured me, that they had a tradition of that in their church, and it was inſerted in their breviary; which he firmly believed. He alſo told me the other legend of King Lucius's ſiſter St Emerita, who was burnt there, and of whoſe veil there was yet a conſiderable remnant reſerved among their reliques. I confeſs, I never ſaw a relique ſo ill diſguiſed; for it is a piece of worn linen cloth lately waſhed, and the burning did not ſeem to be a month old; and yet when they took it out of the caſe to ſhew it me, there were ſome there that with great devotion rubbed their beads upon it. The Biſhop had ſome conteſts with his Dean; and, being a prince of the empire, he had proſcribed him. The Dean had alſo behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that, by an order of the diet, to which even the Biſhop, as was believed, conſented, he was put in priſon as he came out of the cathedral. By the common conſent both of the Popiſh and Proteſtant communities, a law was long ago made againſt eccleſiaſtical immunities. This attempt on the Dean was made four years ago. As ſoon as he was let out, he went to Rome, and made great complaints of the Biſhop; and it was thought the Popiſh party intended to move in the diet while we were there for the repealing of that law; but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Biſhop and dean, was the exemptions to which the Dean and chapter pretended, and upon which the Biſhop made ſome invaſion. Upon which I took occaſion to ſhew him the novelty of thoſe exemptions; and that in the primitive church it was believed, that the biſhop had the authority over his preſbyters by a divine right; and, if it was by a divine right,

then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience. But the Biſhop would not carry the matter ſo high, and contented himſelf with two maxims. The one was, That the Biſhop was Chriſt's vicar in his dioceſe; and the other was, That what the Pope was in the Catholic church, the Biſhop was the ſame in his dioceſe.

He was a good-natured man, and did not make uſe of the great authority that he has over the Papiſts there, to ſet them on to live uneaſily with their neighbours of another religion. That Biſhop was anciently a great prince; and the greateſt part of the league that carries ſtill the name of *the Houſe of God* belonged to him; though I was aſſured that Pregallia, one of thoſe communities, was a free ſtate above ſix hundred years ago, and that they have records yet extant that prove this. The other communities of this league bought their liberties from ſeveral Biſhops ſome conſiderable time before the reformation, of which the deeds are yet extant: ſo that it is an impudent thing to ſay, as ſome have done, that they ſhook off his yoke at that time.

The Biſhop hath yet reſerved a revenue of about one thouſand pounds Sterling a-year, and every one of the prebendaries hath near two hundred pounds a-year. It is not eaſy to imagine out of what the riches of this country are raiſed; for one ſees nothing but a tract of vaſt mountains, that ſeem barren rocks, and ſome little vallies among them not a mile broad, and the beſt part of theſe is waſhed away by the Rhine, and ſome brooks that fall into it. But their wealth conſiſts chiefly in their hills, which afford much paſture; and in the hot months, in which all the paſture of Italy is generally parched, the cattle are driven into theſe hills, which brings them in a revenue of above two hundred thouſand crowns a-year. The public is indeed

indeed very poor; but particular perſons are ſo rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have eſtates to the value of one hundred thouſand crowns. Mr Shoveſtein, that is accounted the richeſt man in the country, is believed to be worth a million, I mean of livres. The government here is purely a commonwealth; for in the choice of their magiſtrates every man that is above ſixteen years old hath his voice, which is alſo the conſtitution of ſome of the ſmall cantons. The three leagues are, the league of the Griſons, that of the Houſe of God, and that of the Ten Juriſdictions.

They believe, that, upon the incurſions of the Goths and Vandals, as ſome fled to the Venetian iſlands, out of which aroſe that famous commonwealth; ſo others came and ſheltered themſelves in thoſe vallies. They told me of an ancient inſcription lately found on a ſtone, where on the one ſide is graven, *Omitto Rhetos, indomitos*; and, *Ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by Julius Cæſar. The ſtone on which the inſcription is, is upon one of their mountains; but I did not paſs that way, ſo I can make no judgment concerning it. After the firſt forming of this people, they were caſt into little ſtates, according to the different vallies which they inhabited, and in which juſtice was adminiſtered; and ſo they fell under the power of ſome little princes, that became ſevere maſters. But when they ſaw the example that the Switzers had ſet them, in ſhaking off the Auſtrian yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewiſe combined to ſhake off theirs; only ſome few of thoſe ſmall princes uſed their authority better, and concurred with the people in ſhaking off the yoke, and ſo they are ſtill parts of the body; only Haldenſtein is an abſolute ſovereignty. It is about two miles from Coire to the weſt,

weſt, on the other ſide of the Rhine. The whole territory is about half a mile long, at the foot of the Alps, where there is ſcarce any breadth. The authority of theſe Barons was formerly more abſolute than it is now; for the ſubjects were their ſlaves: but to keep together the little village, they have granted them a power of naming a liſt for their magiſtrates, the perſon being to be named by the Baron, who hath alſo the right of pardoning, a right of coining, and every thing elſe that belongs to a ſovereign. I ſaw this little prince in Coire, in an equipage not ſuitable to his quality; for he was in all points like a very ordinary gentleman. There are three other baronies that are members of the diet, and ſubject to it; the chief belonged to the Archdukes of Inſpruck, the other two belong to Mr Schovenſtein and Mr de Mont; they are the heads of thoſe communities of which their baronies are compoſed; they name the magiſtrates out of the liſts that are preſented to them by their ſubjects, and they have the right of pardoning, and of confiſcations. That belonging to the houſe of Auſtria is the biggeſt; it hath five voices in the diet, and it can raiſe twelve hundred men. One Travers bought it of the Emperor in the year 1679; he entered upon the rights of the ancient Barons, which were ſpecified in an agreement that paſſed between him and his peaſants, and was confirmed by the Emperor. Travers made many incroachments upon the privileges of his ſubjects; who, upon that, made their complaints to the league; but Travers would have the matter judged at Inſpruck, and the Emperor ſupported him in this pretenſion, and ſent an agent to the diet. I was preſent when he had his audience, in which there was nothing but general compliments. But the diet ſtood firm to their conſtitution, and aſſerted that the Emperor had no authority to judge

in

in that matter, which belonged only to them. So Travers was forced to let his pretenſions fall.

All the other parts of this ſtate are purely democratical. There are three different bodies or leagues, and every one of theſe are an entire government; and the aſſembly or diet of the three leagues, is only a confederacy, like the United Provinces, or the cantons. There are ſixty-ſeven voices in the general diet, which are thus divided. The league of the Griſons hath twenty-eight voices, that of the Houſe of God hath twenty-four, and that of the Juriſdictions hath fifteen. The Juriſdictions belonged anciently to the houſe of Auſtria; but they having ſhaken off that authority, were incorporated into the diet: but in the laſt wars of Germany the Auſtrians thought to have brought them again under their yoke; yet they defended their liberty with ſo much vigour, that the Auſtrians, it ſeems, thought the conqueſt not worth the while, and that it would not quit the coſt. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions. In one village, which was quite abandoned by all the men belonging to it, who left the women in it, ſome hundreds, as I was told, being there quartered, were apprehenſive of no danger from their hoſteſſes: but the women intended to let their huſbands ſee, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold action; though it muſt be confeſſed, it was a little too rough and barbarous for the ſex. They entered into a combination to cut all the throats of the ſoldiers at one time. The woman that propoſed this had four lodged with her, and ſhe with her own hands diſpatched them all; and ſo did all the reſt, not one ſoldier eſcaping to carry away the news of ſo unheard-of a rage. In another place, a body of the Auſtrians came into a valley that was quite abandoned; for the men that had no arms but their clubs

clubs and ſtaves had got up to the mountains: but they took their meaſures ſo well, and poſſeſſed themſelves ſo of the paſſes, that they came down upon the ſoldiers with ſo much fury, that they defeated them quite, ſo that very few eſcaped; and it is certain, that the ſubduing of them would have proved a very hard work. It is true, they are not in a condition to hold out long, the public is ſo poor; ſo that, though particular perſons are extreme rich, yet they have no public revenue, but every man is concerned to preſerve his liberty; which is more entire here than it is even in Switzerland: but this ſwells often too much, and throws them into great convulſions. The league of the Griſons is the firſt and moſt ancient; and it is compoſed of eight and twenty communities; of which there are eighteen Papiſts, and the reſt are Proteſtants. The communities of the two religions live neighbourly together, yet they do not ſuffer thoſe of another religion to live among them; ſo that every community is entirely of the ſame religion: and if any one changes, he muſt go into another community. Each community is an entire ſtate within itſelf; and all perſons muſt meet once a year, to chuſe the judge and his aſſiſtants, whom they change or continue from year to year as they ſee cauſe. There is no difference made between gentleman and peaſant, and the tenant hath a vote as well as his landlord; nor dare his landlord uſe him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions, for the peaſants would look upon that as a common quarrel. An appeal lies from the judge of the community to the aſſembly of the league, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general diet of the three leagues, except in matters that concern the conquered countries, which belong in common to all the three. There is one choſen by the deputies for the aſſembly

bly of the league, who is called, *The head of the league*, that can call them together as he ſees cauſe, and can likewiſe bring a cauſe that hath been once judged to a ſecond hearing. Ilants is the chief town of this league, where their diet meets. The ſecond league is that of the Houſe of God, in which there are four and twenty communities. The burgomaſter of Coire is always the head of this league. This league is almoſt wholly Proteſtant; and the two vallies of the Upper and Lower Engedin are pointed out by the Papiſts as little leſs than canibals towards ſuch Catholics as come among them. But Frier Sfondrato, nephew to Pope Gregory XIV. whoſe mother the Marquis of Bergominiero, that was in England, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true, to his great regret. About eighteen years ago he was believed to have wrought miracles; and he became ſo much in love with the crown of martyrdom, that he went through the Engedin, not doubting but that he ſhould find there that which he deſired. His brother had come ſome time before into the country to drink the mineral waters, and was well known to the gentry: ſo ſome of theſe hearing of the frier's coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their houſes, and conveyed through the country, though he took all poſſible ways to provoke them; for he was often railing at their religion; but to all that they made no anſwer, only they continued their civilities ſtill: which did ſo enrage the warm frier, that he went to Bormio, and there, as was believed, died of grief.

An accident fell out five years ago, that the people of the country eſteemed a ſort of a miracle. The Papiſts, in their proceſſions, go ſometimes out of one community into another; and when they paſs through Proteſtant communities, they lower the

the croſs, and give over ſinging till they are again upon Popiſh ground; but then they went on bearing up the croſs, and ſinging as they went: upon which the Proteſtants ſtopped them, and would not ſuffer them to go on in that manner. They finding that they were not equal in number to the Proteſtants, ſent to a Catholic community, and deſired them to come to their aſſiſtance. Two thouſand came, and by all appearance the diſpute would have had a bloody iſſue; for the Proteſtants were reſolved to maintain the rights of their community, and the others were no leſs reſolved to force their way: but an extraordinary thick miſt aroſe, and through it the Papiſts fancied they ſaw a vaſt body of men, which was no other than a wood; but terrified with the appearance of ſuch a number, they retired; and this ſaved a little battle, that probably would not only have ended in the ſhedding much blood, but might have very much diſordered the whole conſtitution and union of their leagues. The Papiſts of quality endeavour much to keep their people in order; but they acknowledged to myſelf, that the Proteſtants were much peaceabler than the Catholics. The Juriſdictions have fifteen votes in the general diet; yet they are generally called *the Ten Juriſdictions*, and the greater part of them are likewiſe of the Proteſtant religion: for upon the general computation of the three leagues, the Proteſtants are about two thirds. In their diets there are three tables, one in the middle, and two on either ſide. At every table ſits the head of the league, and a ſecretary near him; and from the table there go down benches on both hands, for the deputies from the communities of that league. They hold their diets by turns in the chief towns of the ſeveral leagues, and it happened to be the turn of the Houſe of God when I was there; ſo they met at Coire.

The

The three leagues have a conquered country in Italy, divided into three diſtricts; the Valteline, Chavennes, and Bormio. When John Galeaſſe poſſeſſed himſelf of the duchy of Milan, and drove out Barnabas; Maſtinas, one of Barnabas's ſons, to whom his father had given thoſe three branches of the duchy of Milan, retired to Coire; and being hoſpitably received and entertained by the Biſhop, when he died, he gave his right to thoſe territories to the cathedral of Coire: but here was a title without a force able to make it good. But when the wars of Italy were on foot, the three leagues being much courted by both the crowns, ſince they were maſters of the paſſes, by which either the Switzers or Germans could come into Italy, they reſolved to lay hold on that opportunity; yet they had not zeal enough for their Biſhop, to engage deep upon his account: ſo they agreed with him to pay him ſuch a revenue, and he tranſferred his title to them; and they were ſo conſiderable to the Spaniards, that, without much ado, they yielded thoſe parcels of the duchy of Milan to them, and by this means they are poſſeſſed of them. Thoſe acceſſions to this ſtate are much better than the principal: for as certainly the Valteline, which is above forty miles long, and two broad, is one of the richeſt vallies in the world, in which there are three harveſts ſome years; ſo the Chavennes and Bormio are much preferable to the beſt vallies of the Griſons: yet the engagement that people have to their native homes appears ſignally here, ſince the Griſons have not forſaken their country, that they might ſituate themſelves ſo advantageouſly. But they love their rugged vallies, and think the ſafety they enjoy in them beyond the pleaſures of their acquired dominions; ſo they govern them by *bailiffs* and *podeſtas*, and other officers whom they ſend among them: and

all the advantages that they draw from them, is, that the magiſtrates whom they ſend to govern them, do enrich themſelves, as the *bailiffs* in Switzerland do. All thoſe offices go round the ſeveral communities, who have the right of nomination in their turn; but if there is none of the community proper for the employment, any one of another community may buy of them the nomination for that turn, and the community diſtribute among them the money that he gives them. The public draws nothing out of thoſe parts, except the fines, which in ſome years amount to no conſiderable ſum; and ten or twelve thouſand crowns is thought a great deal to be raiſed out of them in a year: ſo that their ſubjects live happy, and free of all taxes; which made their laſt revolt appear the more extraordinary. And it was indeed the effect of a very ſurpriſing bigotry, when a people under the gentleſt yoke in the world, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their magiſtrates were of another religion, and that the Proteſtant religion was tolerated amongſt them, would therefore throw off their maſters, cut the throats of their neighbours, and caſt themſelves into the hands of the Spaniards, who are the terribleſt maſters in the world.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumſtances which ſeem a little to leſſen that rebellion and maſſacre, I muſt give an account of a part of this conſtitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greateſt men in it to tremble. The peaſants come ſometimes in great bodies, and demand a chamber of juſtice from the general diet; and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years. Commonly this tumult of the peaſants is ſet on by ſome of the malecontented gentry, and generally there are a great

great many ſacrifices made. This court is compoſed of ten judges out of every league, and twenty advocates, who manage ſuch accuſations as are preſented to them. This court is paramount to law, and acts like a court of inquiſition; they give the queſtion, and do every thing that they think neceſſary to diſcover the truth of ſuch accuſations as are preſented to them: and the deciſions of this court can never be brought under a ſecond review; though there is an exception to this; for about a hundred years ago, one court of juſtice reverſed all that another had done: but that is a ſingle inſtance. The peaſants are in as great a jealouſy of the Spaniards, as the Switzers are of the French; and the good men among them are extremely ſenſible of a great diſſolution of morals that the Spaniſh ſervice brings among them. For there is a Griſon regiment kept ſtill in pay by the Spaniards; there are in it twelve companies of fifty a-piece, and the Captains have a thouſand crowns pay, though they are not obliged to attend upon the ſervice. This is, upon the matter, a penſion paid, under a more decent name, to the moſt conſiderable men of the country; and this is ſhared among them without any diſtinction of Proteſtant and Papiſt, and is believed to ſway their councils much. The peaſants are apt to take fire, and to believe they are betrayed by thoſe penſioners of Spain; and when rumours are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a chamber of juſtice. The common queſtion that they give, which is alſo uſed all Switzerland over, and in Geneva, is, That they tye the hands of the ſuſpected perſon behind his back, and pull them up to his head, and ſo draw them about, by which the arms, and chiefly the ſhoulder-blades, are disjointed. And when a perſon put to the queſtion confeſſes his crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he

is obliged to renew his confeſſion upon oath at the place of execution; and if he goes off from it then, and ſaith, *That his confeſſion was extorted by the violence of the torture*, he is put again to the queſtion: for this paſſes for a maxim, *That no man muſt die, unleſs he confeſſeth himſelf guilty*. Generally, when the fury of demanding this chamber is ſpread among the people, the gentry run away, and leave the whole matter in the power of the peaſants; for they know not where it will end: and ſo the peaſants being named to be judges, the juſtice goes quick, till ſome ſacrifices appeaſe the rage. Two years ago, upon the ſale of a common to the Biſhop of Como, to which he had an ancient pretenſion, the peaſants having no more the liberty of the common, were enraged at their magiſtrates; and a report was ſpread abroad, of which the firſt author could never be diſcovered, *That the Spaniards had ſent a hundred thouſand crowns among them to corrupt all their magiſtrates*. Upon this they were ſo ſet on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many ſacrifices made to this fury: but the gentry happened to be then ſo much united, that there was none of them engaged among the peaſants, or that managed their rage. A chamber of juſtice was granted; but the matter was ſo ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty: yet ſome that had dealt in that tranſaction were fined, not ſo much for any fault of theirs, as to raiſe a fund to pay the expences of the chamber. And becauſe they could not find colour enough to raiſe ſo much out of the fines, there was a fine of five hundred livres laid on every one of the Spaniſh companies. I hope this digreſſion will not appear tedious to you; and the rather, becauſe you will ſoon ſee that it was a little neceſſary to open the matter of the rebellion and maſſacre in the Valteline.

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In the year 1618, there was a report ſet about, *That the Spaniards had a treaty on foot to tear away the Valteline from the leagues.* This was ſupported by the fort Fuentes, that the governor of Milan was building upon the lake of Como. Near the Valteline there was one Ganatz, a miniſter, but a bloody and perfidious man, that ſet on and managed the rage of the peaſants; and there was great reaſon to ſuſpect ſome underhand dealing, though he threw it which way he pleaſed. A chamber of juſtice was appointed to ſit at Toſſane, which is a conſiderable town twelve miles from Coire, on the way to Italy, near Alta Rhetia, which is a high and ſmall hill, to which there is no acceſs but on one ſide; where there are yet the ruins of a caſtle and a church, and which they believe was the palace of Rhetus, the firſt prince of the country. There was ſevere juſtice done in this chamber. A prieſt was put to the queſtion, and ſo ill uſed, that he died in it; which is a crying thing among them. The chief ſuſpicion lay upon one Pianta; who, being of one of the beſt families of the Griſons, was then one of the Captains in the Spaniſh regiment. He withdrew himſelf from the ſtorm; but the peaſants, led on by Ganatz, purſued him ſo, that at laſt they found him, and hewed him in pieces, Ganatz himſelf ſtriking the firſt ſtroke with an ax, which was taken up and preſerved by his friends; and four and twenty years after, fifty or ſixty of his friends fell upon Ganatz in Coire, and killed him with the ſame ax; which they brought along with them, that they might execute their deſign by the ſame tool with which their friend was murdered. Ganatz had, during the wars, abandoned both his religion and profeſſion, being indeed a diſgrace to both, and had ſerved firſt in the Venetian, and then in the Spaniſh troops. After the peace was made, he be-

came ſo conſiderable, being ſupported by the Spaniſh faction, that he was choſen governor of Chavennes, and was come over to Coire to a diet, he being then in ſo important a charge. But he was ſo much hated, that though the murdering of a magiſtrate in office, and at a public aſſembly, in ſo terrible a manner, ought to have been ſeverely puniſhed; yet no inquiry was made into the crime, nor was any man ſo much as queſtioned for it. In that chamber many that were put to the queſtion confeſſed enough to hang them. Some endured the queſtion, and eſcaped with the loſs of the uſe of their arms. Thoſe of the Valteline have made uſe of this ſeverity, as that which gave the riſe to the maſſacre. And it is very probable this might have drawn in ſome that would have been otherwiſe more moderate, and that it did likewiſe precipitate that barbarous action. Yet it was afterwards found out, that the plot had been formed long before; ſo that the induſtry and rage of the prieſts, managed by Spaniſh emiſſaries, working upon the bigotry of the people, was the real cauſe; and this was only made uſe of as a pretext to give ſome more plauſible colours to the maſſacre, which was executed ſome months after this chamber was diſſolved. It began while the Proteſtants were at church. There were ſome hundreds deſtroyed; the reſt got all up to the mountains, and ſo eſcaped into the country of the Griſons; and thoſe of Chavennes got likewiſe up to the hills, for they are ſituated juſt at the bottom of them.

I ſhall not proſecute the reſt of that war. The French ſaw of what advantage it was to them, not to let this paſs from Italy into Germany fall into the hands of the Spaniards; ſo Baſſompiere was ſent to Madrid, and obtained a promiſe, that all things ſhould be put into the ſame ſtate in which they were before the year 1618. But when that order

order was ſent to the governor of Milan, it was plain he had ſecret orders to the contrary, for he refuſed to execute it. So a war followed; in which the Griſons found it was not eaſy for them to ſupport the charge of it, without employing the aſſiſtance of the French. But the Spaniards pretended to have no other intereſt in the affairs of the Valteline, than the preſervation of the Catholic religion; and, to ſhew their ſincerity, they put the country into the Pope's hands, knowing that he could not preſerve it but by their aſſiſtance, nor reſtore it without ſecuring it from all change of religion. The French willingly undertook the cauſe of the Griſons; and becauſe the Duke of Rohan was like to be the moſt favourable General, as being of their religion, he was ſent to command ſome forces that marched thither. But he ſaw, that if the French once made themſelves maſters of the paſſes of the country, it would turn to their ruin; and finding the Griſons repoſed an entire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an inſtrument in that which he ſaw muſt be fatal to them.

The Spaniards ſeeing the French engage in the quarrel, and fearing leſt they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the paſſes, offered to reſtore all the territory in Italy; for Chavennes and Bormio had likewiſe revolted; only the Proteſtants got away ſo quick upon the diſorders in the Valteline, that they prevented the rage of the prieſts. The Spaniards aſked theſe conditions: That an amneſty ſhould be granted for what was paſt; that there ſhould be no exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion tolerated in the country; and that even the *bailiffi*, and other magiſtrates of that religion, who were to be ſent into the Valteline, ſhould have no exerciſe of their religion; and as for other perſons, that none of that religion might ſtay above ſix weeks at a time

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in the country. The Duke of Rohan ſeeing that conditions of ſo much advantage to the leagues were offered them, did underhand adviſe thoſe of that religion to accept of them, at the ſame time that he ſeemed openly to oppoſe the treaty ſet on foot on thoſe terms; and that he might get out of his employment with leſs diſhonour, he adviſed their clapping him up in priſon, till they had finiſhed their treaty with the Spaniards. So that they very gratefully to this day own, that they owe the preſervation of their country to the wiſe advices of that great man. Many that were of that religion returned to their houſes and eſtates; but the greateſt part fearing ſuch another maſſacre, have ſince changed their religion, others have ſold their eſtates, and left the country. Some ſtay ſtill, and go two or three hours journey to ſome of the Proteſtant communities, where they have the exerciſe of their religion. And though they may not ſtay in the Valteline above ſix weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the country once within that time; nor is that matter at preſent ſo ſeverely examined; ſo that there is a calm among them as to thoſe matters. But when it comes to the turn of the Proteſtant communities to ſend one of their religion to thoſe employments, he is often much imbarraſſed by the Biſhop of Como, to whoſe dioceſe thoſe territories belong: for if the Biſhop fancies, that they do any thing contrary to the eccleſiaſtical immunities, he excommunicates them. And though this may appear a ridiculous thing, ſince they are already in a worſe ſtate by being heretics; yet it produces a very ſenſible effect; for the people, that are extremely ſuperſtitious, will not, after that, come near ſuch magiſtrates. So that about three years ago, a *bailiff* found himſelf obliged to deſire to be recalled, though his time was not out, ſince being excommunicated he could

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no longer maintain the government in his own perſon.

Among the Griſons the Roman law prevails, modified a little by their cuſtoms. One that was a little particular, was executed when I was there. A man that hath an eſtate by his wife, enjoys it after her death as long as he continues a widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the children that he had by her. The juſtice is ſhort and ſimple; but it is often thought, that bribes go here, though but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The married women here do ſcarce appear abroad, except at church; but the young women have more liberty before they are married. There is ſuch a plenty of all things by reaſon of the gentleneſs of the government, and the induſtry of the people, that in all the ten days I ſtaid in Coire I was but once aſked an alms in the ſtreets. There are two churches in Coire. In the one there is an organ that joins with their voices in the ſinging of the pſalms; and there was for the honour of the diet, while we were there, an anthem ſung by a ſet of muſicians very regularly. In all the churches, both of Switzerland and the Griſons, except in this only, the miniſter preaches covered; but here he is bare-headed. And I obſerved a particular devotion uſed here in ſaying of the Lord's prayer, that the miniſters, who wear caps, put them off when this was ſaid. The women here, as in Bern, turn all to the eaſt in time of prayer, and alſo in their private devotions before and after the public prayers. Many alſo bow at the name of Jeſus. They chriſten diſcovering the whole head, and pouring the water on the hind-head, uſing a trine aſperſion; which is alſo the practice of the Switzers. It was matter of much edification, to ſee the great numbers, both here and all Switzerland

land over, that come every day to prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the prayer a good interval of ſilence for the private devotions of the aſſembly. The ſchools here go not above Latin, Greek, and logic; and for the reſt they ſend their children to Zurich or Baſil. The clergy here are very meanly provided. For the moſt part they have nothing but the benevolence of their people. They complained much to me of a great coldneſs in their people in the matters of religion, and of a great corruption in their morals. The commons are extreme inſolent; and many crimes go unpuniſhed, if the perſons that commit them have either great credit or much money. The poor miniſters here are under a terrible ſlavery; for the Griſons pretend, that in all times they had not only the patronage of their churches, but a power to diſmiſs their churchmen as they ſaw cauſe. How it is among the Papiſts, I cannot tell; but the Dean of the ſynod of the Houſe of God told me, they had an ill cuſtom of ordaining their miniſters without a title, upon an examination of their qualifications and abilities, which took them up generally ſix or ſeven hours; and when the trial was thus diſpatched, if the perſon was found qualified, they ordained him. And it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus ordained, to endeavour to undermine the miniſters already in employment, if their people grew diſguſted at them, or as they became diſabled by age: and often the intereſt and kindred of the intruder carried the matter againſt the incumbent without any colour or pretence; and in that caſe the ſynod was bound to receive the intruder. In one half of the country, they preach in High Dutch; and in the other half, in a corrupt Italian, which they call *Romaniſh*, that is, a mixture of French and Italian. In every league they have a ſynod; and as the people

people chuſe their miniſters, ſo, in imitation of the Switzers, every ſynod chuſes their *antiſtes*, or ſuperintendant. He is called the *dean* among the Griſons, and hath a ſort of Epiſcopal power; but he is accountable to the ſynod. The office is for life; but the ſynod, upon great cauſe given, may make a change. The people of this country are much more lively than the Switzers; and they begin to have ſome tincture of the Italian temper. They are extreme civil to ſtrangers: but it ſeems in all commonwealths innkeepers think they have a right to exact upon ſtrangers; which one finds here, as well as in Holland, or in Switzerland.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay concerning the Griſons with a very extraordinary ſtory, which I had both from the miniſters of Coire, and ſeveral other gentlemen, that ſaw, in April 1685, about five hundred perſons of different ſexes and ages that paſſed through the town; who gave this account of themſelves. They were the inhabitants of a valley in Tirol, belonging for the greateſt part to the archbiſhoprick of Saltzburg; but ſome of them were in the dioceſes of Trent and Breſſe. They ſeemed to be a remnant of the old Waldenſes. They worſhipped neither images nor ſaints, and they believed the ſacrament was only a commemoration of the death of Chriſt. And in many other points they had their peculiar opinions, different from thoſe of the church of Rome. They knew nothing either of Lutherans or Calviniſts; and the Griſons, though their neighbours, had never heard of this nearneſs of theirs to the Proteſtant religion. They had maſs ſaid among them; but ſome years ſince ſome of the valley going over Germany to earn ſomewhat by their labour, happened to go into the Palatinate, where they were better inſtructed in matters of religion; and theſe brought back with them into the valley

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the Heidelberg catechiſm, together with ſome other German books, which ran over the valley; and they being before that in a good diſpoſition, thoſe books had ſuch an effect upon them, that they gave over going to maſs any more, and began to worſhip God in a way more ſuitable to the rules ſet down in ſcripture. Some of their prieſts concurred with them in this happy change; but others, that adhered ſtill to the maſs, went and gave the Archbiſhop of Saltzſburg an account of it; upon which he ſent ſome into the country to examine the truth of the matter, to exhort them to return to maſs, and to threaten them with all ſeverity, if they continued obſtinate. So they, ſeeing a terrible ſtorm ready to break upon them, reſolved to abandon their houſes, and all they had, rather than ſin againſt their conſciences; and the whole inhabitants of the valley, old and young, men and women, to the number of two thouſand, divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies. Some intended to go to Brandenburg, others to the Palatinate; and about five hundred took the way of Coire, intending to diſperſe themſelves in Switzerland. The miniſters told me, they were much edified with their ſimplicity and modeſty; for a collection being made for them, they deſired only a little bread to carry them on their way.

From Coire we went to Toſſane, and from thence through the way that is juſtly called *Via mala*. It is through a bottom between two rocks, through which the Rhine runs, but under ground, for a great part of the way. The way is cut out in the middle of the rock in ſome places; and in ſeveral places the ſteepneſs of the rock being ſuch, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it, over which boards and earth are laid. This way holds an hour. After that there is for two hours good way, and we paſt through two conſiderable villages. There is good lodging

lodging in both. From thence there is for two hours journey terrible way, almoſt as bad as the Via Mala; then an hour's journey good way to Splugen, which is a large village of above two hundred houſes, that are well built; and the inhabitants ſeem all to live at their eaſe, though they have no ſort of ſoil but a little meadow-ground about them. This is the laſt Proteſtant church that was in our way. It was well endowed; for the proviſion for the miniſter was near two hundred crowns. Thoſe of this village are the carriers between Italy and Germany; ſo they drive a great trade; for there is here a perpetual carriage going and coming; and we were told, that there paſs generally a hundred horſes through this town, one day with another; and there are above five hundred carriage-horſes that belong to the town. From this place we went mounting for three hours, till we got to the top of the hills, where there is only one great inn. After that, the way was tolerably good for two hours; and for two hours there is a conſtant deſcent, which for the moſt part is as ſteep as if we were all the while going down ſtairs. At the foot of this is a little village, called *Campdolein*: and here we found we were in Italy, both by the vaſt difference of the climate, (for whereas we were freezing on the other ſide, the heat of the ſun was uneaſy here), and alſo by the number of the beggars: though it may ſeem the reverſe of what one ought to expect; ſince the richeſt country of Europe is full of beggars; and the Griſons, that are one of the pooreſt ſtates, have no beggars at all. One thing is alſo ſtrange, that among the Griſons the rich wine of the Valteline, after it is carried three days journey, is ſold cheaper than the wine of other countries, where it grows at the door: but there are no taxes nor impoſitions here. From Campdolein there are three hours journey to

Chavennes, all in a ſlow deſcent; and in ſome places the way is extreme rugged and ſtony. Chavennes is very pleaſantly ſituated at the very foot of the mountains. There runs through the town a pleaſant little river. It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich vineyards about it; and the rebound of the ſun-beams from the mountains doth ſo increaſe the heats, that the ſoil is as rich here as in any place of Italy. Here one begins to ſee a noble architecture in a great many houſes; in ſhort, all the marks of a rich ſoil and a free government appear here. The town ſtood a little more to the north about five hundred years ago; but a ſlice of the Alps came down upon it, and buried it quite. And at the upper end of the town there are ſome rocks that look like ruins; about which there hath been a very extraordinary expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit places for forts and caſtles. The marks of the tools appeared all over the rock in one place. I meaſured the breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty foot; the length is four hundred and fifty foot; and, as we could gueſs, the rock was two hundred foot high, cut down on both ſides in a line as even as a wall. Towards the top of one, the name *Salvius* is cut in great letters, a little Gothic. On the tops of thoſe rocks, which are inacceſſible, except on the one ſide, and to that the aſcent is extreme uneaſy, they had garriſons during the wars of the Valteline. There were fifteen hundred in garriſon in that which is in the middle. There fall down frequently ſlices from the hills, that do extremely fatten the ground which they cover; ſo that it becomes fruitful beyond expreſſion. And I ſaw a lime-tree that was planted eight and thirty years ago in a piece of ground which had been ſo covered, that was two fathom and an half of compaſs. On both ſides of the river,

ver, the town and the gardens belonging to it cover the whole bottom that lies between the hills; and at the roots of the mountains they dig great cellars and grottoes, and ſtrike a hole about a foot ſquare ten or twelve foot into the hill, which all the ſummer long blows a freſh air into the cellar; ſo that the wine of thoſe cellars drinks almoſt as cold as if it were in ice; but this wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of September: for the ſun opening the pores of the earth, and rarifying the exterior air, that which is compreſſed within the cavities that are in the mountains, ruſhes out with a conſtant wind. But when the operation of the ſun is weakened, this courſe of the air is leſs ſenſible. Before or over thoſe vaults they build little pleaſant rooms like ſummer-houſes; and in them they go to collations generally at night in ſummer. I never ſaw bigger grapes than grow here. There is one ſort bigger than the biggeſt Damaſcene plums that we have in England.

There is a ſort of wine here and in the Valteline, which I never heard named any where elſe, that is called *aromatic* wine: and as the taſte makes one think it muſt be a compoſition, (for it taſtes like a ſtrong water drawn off ſpices), ſo its ſtrength being equal to a weak brandy, diſpoſes one to believe that it cannot be a natural wine; and yet it is the pure juice of the grape without any mixture. The liquor being ſingular, I informed myſelf particularly of the way of preparing it. The grapes are red, though it drinks white. They let the grapes hang on the vines till November, that they are extreme ripe. Then they carry them to their garrets, and ſet them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three months; then they pick all the grapes, and throw away thoſe in which there is the leaſt appearance of rottenneſs; ſo that they preſs none but ſound grapes. After they are

preſſed, they put the liquor in an open veſſel; in which it throws up a ſcum, which they take off twice a-day; and when no more ſcum comes up, which, according to the difference of the ſeaſon, is ſooner or later, (for ſometimes the ſcum comes no more after eight days, and at other times it continues a fortnight), then they put it in a cloſe veſſel. For the firſt year it is extreme ſweet and luſcious; but at the end of the year, they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the veſſel, almoſt two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh ſo low, and then every year they fill it up anew. Once a-year, in the month of March, it ferments, and cannot be drank till that is over, which continues a month; but their other wine ferments not at that time. Madam de Salis, a lady of that country, who entertained us three days with a magnificence equal to what can be done in London or Paris, had wine of this compoſition that was forty years old, and was ſo very ſtrong that one could hardly drink above a ſpoonful; and it taſted high of ſpicery, though ſhe aſſured me there was not one grain of ſpice in it, nor of any other mixture whatſoever. Thus the heat that is in this wine becomes a fire, and diſtils itſelf, throwing up the more ſpirituous parts of it to the top of the hogſhead.

Both here and in the Griſons the meat is very juicy. The fowl are excellent, their roots and herbs very taſteful; but the fiſh of their lakes are beyond any thing I ever ſaw. They live in a great ſimplicity as to their habit and furniture; but they have plenty of all things, and are extreme rich. The family where we were ſo nobly entertained, is believed to have about two hundred thouſand crowns. Here the Italian cuſtom, of one only of a family that marries, takes place generally. There is a ſort of pots of ſtone that is uſed not only in all the

kitchens

kitchens here, but almoſt all Lombardy over, called *lavege*. The ſtone feels oily and ſcaly; ſo that a ſcale ſticks to one's finger that touches it, and is ſomewhat of the nature of a ſlate. There are but three mines of it known in theſe parts; one near Chavennes, another in the Valteline, and the third in the Griſons; but the firſt is much the beſt. They generally cut it in the mine round, of about a foot and a half diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick; and they work it in a mill, where the chiſſels that cut the ſtone are driven about by a wheel that is ſet a-going by water; and which is ſo ordered, that he who manages the chiſſel very eaſily draws forward the wheel out of the courſe of the water. They turn off firſt the outward coat of this ſtone, till it is exactly ſmooth, and then they ſeparate one pot after another by thoſe ſmall and hooked chiſſels, by which they make a neſt of pots, all one within another, the outward and biggeſt being as big as an ordinary beef-pot, and the inward pot being no bigger than a ſmall pipkin. Theſe they arm with hooks and circles of braſs, and ſo they are ſerved by them in their kitchens. One of theſe ſtone pots takes heat and boils ſooner than any pot of metal, and whereas the bottoms of metal pots tranſmit the heat ſo entirely to the liquor within, that they are not inſufferably hot, the bottom of this ſtone pot, which is about twice ſo thick as a pot of metal, burns extremely. It never cracks, neither gives any ſort of taſte to the liquor that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the ground, it is very brittle: yet this is repaired by patching it up; for they piece their broken pots ſo cloſe, though without any cement, by ſewing with iron wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire, there is not the leaſt breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The paſſage to this

mine is very inconvenient; for they muſt creep into it for near half a mile through a rock, that is ſo hard, that the paſſage is not above three foot high; and ſo thoſe that draw out the ſtones creep all along upon their belly, having a candle faſtened in their forehead, and the ſtone laid on a ſort of cuſhion made for it upon their hips. The ſtones are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned ſome falls of mountains in thoſe parts, I cannot paſs by the extraordinary fate of the town of Pleurs, that was about a league from Chavennes to the north in the ſame bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raiſed. The town was half the bigneſs of Chavennes; the number of the inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred perſons: but it was much more nobly built; for, beſides the great palace of the Francken that coſt ſome millions, there were many other palaces that were built by ſeveral rich factors both of Milan and the other parts of Italy, who liked the ſituation and air, as well as the freedom of the government of this place; ſo they uſed to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themſelves all the indulgences that a vaſt wealth could furniſh. By one of the palaces that was a little diſtant from the town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the reſt. It was an out-houſe of the family of the Francken, and yet it may compare with many palaces in Italy; and certainly houſe and gardens could not coſt ſo little as one hundred thouſand crowns. The voluptuouſneſs of this place became very crying; and Madam de Salis told me, that ſhe had heard her mother often relate ſome paſſages of a Proteſtant miniſter's ſermons, that preached in a little church, which thoſe of that religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would

would ſuddenly break out upon them. On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1618, an inhabitant came, and told them to be gone, for he ſaw the mountains cleaving; but he was laughed at for his pains. He had a daughter, whom he perſuaded to leave all, and go with him; but when ſhe was gone out of town with him, ſhe called to mind that ſhe had not locked the door of a room in which ſhe had ſome things of value, and ſo ſhe went back to do that, and was buried with the reſt; for at the hour of ſupper the hill fell down, and buried the town and all the inhabitants, ſo that not one perſon eſcaped. The fall of the mountains did ſo fill the channel of the river, that the firſt news thoſe of Chavennes had of it, was by the failing of their river; for three or four hours there came not a drop of water; but the river wrought for itſelf a new courſe, and returned to them. I could hear no particular character of the man who eſcaped, ſo I muſt leave the ſecret reaſon of ſo ſingular a preſervation to the great diſcovery at the laſt day, of thoſe ſteps of divine providence that are now ſo unaccountable. Some of the family of the Francken got ſome miners to work under ground, to find out the wealth that was buried in their palace; for beſides their plate and furniture, there was great ſtore of caſh, and many jewels, in the houſe. The miners pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their country of Tirol, and built fine houſes; and a great wealth appeared, of which no other viſible account could be given but this, that they had found ſome of that treaſure. The chief factors of Italy have been Griſons; and they told me, that as the trade of banking began in Lombardy, ſo that all Europe over a Lombard and a banker ſignified the ſame thing; ſo the great bankers of Lombardy were Griſons, and to this day the Griſons drive a great trade in money: for a man there of

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a hundred thouſand crowns eſtate, hath not perhaps a third part of it within the country, but puts it out in the neighbouring ſtates: and the liberty of the country is ſuch, that the natives, when they have made up eſtates elſewhere, are glad to leave even Italy, and the beſt parts of Germany, and to come and live among thoſe mountains, of which the very ſight is enough to fill a man with horror.

From Chavennes we went for two hours through a plain to the lake of Chavennes, which is almoſt round, and is about two miles diameter. This lake falls into the lake of Como, over-againſt the fort Fuentes. When we paſſed there, the water was ſo low, that the boat could not eaſily get over a bank that lay between the two lakes. The lake of Como is about eight and forty miles long, and four broad; it runs between two ranges of hills. I did not ſtay long enough in Como, to give any deſcription of it; for I thought to have returned that way from a little tour that I made into the *bailiages* that the Switzers have in Italy, of Lugane, Locarmo, and Bellinzona: but I took another courſe, ſo I ſaw nothing in Como. The beſt thing in it is a fine chapel, which the preſent Pope, who is a native of Como, is building. From Como, we went eight miles to Codelaggo, which belongs to the Switzers, and from thence to Lugane we had eight miles of lake. This lake doth not run in an even current, as the other lakes that riſe under the Alps; but the ſituation of the hills about it throws it into ſeveral courſes.

The Switzers have here ſeveral little provinces, or *bailiages*, of which, during the wars of Italy between the Dukes of Milan and the two crowns, in Francis I and Charles V.'s time, they poſſeſſed themſelves, as a pledge for payment of their arrears; and they were then ſuch conſiderable allies, that they made both the competitors for the duchy

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of Milan court them by turns, and became the peaceable poſſeſſors of almoſt all that tract that lies between the lake of Como to the country of the Valeſſii, or the vallies. The inhabitants here are ſo well uſed, they live ſo free of all impoſitions, and the Switzers government is ſo gentle, that here I muſt tell you another paradox. This is the worſt country, the leaſt productive, the moſt expoſed to cold, and the leaſt capable of trade of all Italy; and yet it is by far the beſt peopled of any that I ſaw in all Italy. There belong to the *bailiage* of Lugane alone ninety-nine villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of people. The twelve ancient cantons have their turns of all the *bailiages* and other offices here; but when it comes to the turn of thoſe of the religion, their *bailiffs* muſt be contented with private devotions in their own houſe, but can have no public exerciſes, nor ſo much as a miniſter in their houſes. For here, as in the Valteline, when the Spaniards confirmed the right of the cantons to thoſe territories, they made an expreſs proviſion, that no religion, except the Popiſh, ſhould be tolerated here; ſo that the *bailiff*, who is the prince, often hath not the free liberty of his religion in theſe parts. The *bailiffs* here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of Switzerland, but yet with more caution; for they take great care not to give the natives any diſtaſte, though the miſeries to which they ſee all their neighbours expoſed, and the abundance and liberty in which they live, ſhould by all appearance deliver their maſters from any great apprehenſions of a revolt. A great many mechanics, of all ſorts, live in theſe parts, who go all ſummer long over Italy, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all taxes. I was told, that ſome nephews of Popes, in particular the Barberinis, had treated with the

Switzers

Switzers to buy this country from them, and ſo to erect it into a principality; and that they had reſolved to offer twelve hundred thouſand crowns to the twelve cantons: but they found it would certainly be rejected, ſo they made not the propoſition to the diet of the cantons, as they once intended. And it is certain, whenſoever this country is brought under a yoke, like that which the reſt of Italy bears, it will be ſoon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws ſo many people to live in ſo ill a ſoil, when they are in ſight of the beſt ſoil in Europe, but the eaſineſs of the government. From Lugane I went to the Lago Maggiore, which is a great and noble lake. It is ſix and fifty miles long, and in moſt places ſix miles broad, and a hundred fathom deep about the middle of it; it makes a great bay to the weſtward. And there lie here two iſlands called the *Borromean iſlands*, that are certainly the loveliest ſpots of ground in the world. There is nothing in all Italy that can be compared to them; they have the full view of the lake, and the ground riſes ſo ſweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the terraſſes here. They belong to two Counts of the Borromean family. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the head of the family, who is nephew to the famous Cardinal known by the name of *S. Carlo*. On the weſt end lies the palace, which is one of the beſt of Italy for the lodgings within, though the architecture is but ordinary. There is one noble apartment above four and twenty foot high, and there is a vaſt addition making to it; and here is a great collection of noble pictures, beyond any thing I ſaw out of Rome. The whole iſland is a garden, except a little corner to the ſouth, ſet off for a village of about forty little houſes. And becauſe the figure of the iſland was not more regular by nature, they have built great vaults and porticos along the rock, which are all made

made groteſque; and ſo they have brought it to a regular form, by laying earth over thoſe vaults. There is firſt a garden to the eaſt, that riſes up from the lake by five rows of terraſſes on the three ſides of the garden, that are watered by the lake; the ſtairs are noble, the walls are all covered with oranges and citrons, and a more beautiful ſpot of a garden cannot be ſeen. There are two buildings in the two corners of this garden; the one is only a mill for fetching up the water, and the other is a noble ſummer-houſe, all wainſcotted, if I may ſpeak ſo, with alabaſter and marble, of a fine colour, inclining to red. From this garden one goes in a level to all the reſt of the alleys and parterres, herb-gardens and flower-gardens; in all which there are variety of fountains and arbours: but the great parterre is a ſurpriſing thing; for as it is well furniſhed with ſtatues and fountains, and is of a vaſt extent, and juſtly ſituated to the palace, ſo at the further end of it there is a great mount; that face of it that looks to the parterre is made like a theatre, all full of fountains and ſtatues, the height riſing up in five ſeveral rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourſcore foot in front; and round this mount, anſwering to the five rows into which the theatre is divided, there go as many terraſſes of noble walks. The walls are all as cloſe covered with oranges and citrons, as any of our walls in England are with laurel. The top of the mount is ſeventy foot long, and forty broad; and here is a vaſt ciſtern, into which the mill plays up the water that muſt furniſh all the fountains. The fountains were not quite finiſhed when I was there; but when all is finiſhed, this place will look like an *inchanted iſland*. The freſhneſs of the air, it being both in a lake, and near the mountains, the fragrant ſmell, the beautiful proſpect, and the delightful variety that is here, makes it ſuch a habi-

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tation for ſummer, that perhaps the whole world hath nothing like it. From this I went to Seſtio, a miſerable village at the end of the lake. And here I began to feel a mighty change, being now in Lombardy, which is certainly the beautifulleſt country that can be imagined: the ground lies ſo even, it is ſo well watered, ſo ſweetly divided by rows of trees, incloſing every piece of ground of an acre or two acres compaſs, that it cannot be denied, that here is a vaſt extent of ſoil, above two hundred miles long, and in many places a hundred miles broad, where the whole country is equal to the lovelieſt ſpots in all England or France; it hath all the ſweetneſs that Holland or Flanders have, but with a warmer ſun, and a better air. The neighbourhood of the mountains cauſes a freſhneſs of air here, that makes the ſoil the moſt deſirable place to live in that can be ſeen, if the government were not ſo exceſſively ſevere, that there is nothing but poverty over all this rich country. A traveller in many places finds almoſt nothing, and is ſo ill furniſhed, that if he doth not buy proviſions in the great towns, he will be obliged to a very ſevere diet, in a country that he ſhould think flowed with milk and honey. But I ſhall ſay more of this hereafter. The Lago Maggiore diſcharges itſelf in the river Teſine, which runs with ſuch a force, that we went thirty miles in three hours, having but one rower, and the water was no way ſwelled. From this we went into the canal, which Francis I. cut from this river to the town of Milan, which is about thirty foot broad; and on both its banks there are ſuch proviſions to diſcharge the water when it riſes to ſuch a height, that it can never be fuller of water than is intended it ſhould be: it lies alſo ſo even, that ſometimes, for ſix miles together, one ſees the line ſo exact, that there is not the leaſt crook. It is thirty miles long,

long, and is the beſt advantage that the town of Milan hath for water-carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long deſcription of this great city, which is one of the nobleſt in the world, to be an inland town, that hath no great court, no commerce either by ſea or any navigable river, and that is now the metropolis of a very ſmall ſtate; for that which is not mountainous in this ſtate is not above ſixty miles ſquare, and yet it produces a wealth that is ſurpriſing. It pays for an eſtabliſhment of ſeven and forty thouſand men, and yet there are not ſixteen thouſand ſoldiers effectively in it; ſo many are ate up by thoſe in whoſe hands the government is lodged. But the vaſtneſs of the town, the nobleneſs of the buildings, and, above all, the ſurpriſing riches of the churches and convents, are ſigns of great wealth. The dome hath nothing to commend it of architecture, it being built in the rude Gothic manner; but for the vaſtneſs and riches of the building, it is equal to any in Italy, St Peter's itſelf not excepted. It is all marble, both pavement and walls, both outſide and inſide, and on the top it is all flagged with marble; and there is the vaſteſt number of niches for ſtatues of marble, both within and without, that are any where to be ſeen. It is true, the ſtatues in ſome of the niches are not proportioned to the niches themſelves. The frontiſpiece is not yet made; it is to be all over covered with ſtatues and bas reliefs; and the pillars, of which there are four rows in the body of the church, have each of them eight niches at the top for ſo many ſtatues: and though one would think this church ſo full of ſtatues, that almoſt every ſaint hath his ſtatue; yet I was aſſured they wanted ſeven thouſand to finiſh the deſign; but theſe muſt chiefly belong to the frontiſpiece. The church, as I could meaſure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred

foot long, and two hundred wide; the choir is wainſcotted, and carved in ſo extraordinary a manner, that I never ſaw paſſion ſo well expreſſed in wood. It contains ſixty ſtalls, and they have almoſt all the hiſtories of the goſpel repreſented in them. Juſt under the cupola lies S. Carlo's body, in a great caſe of cryſtal, of vaſt value; but I could not come near it; for we were there on two holidays, and there was a perpetual croud about it: and the ſuperſtition of the people for his body is ſuch, that on a holiday one runs a hazard that comes near it without doing ſome reverence. His canonization coſt the town a hundred thouſand crowns. They pretend they have miracles too for Cardinal Frederigo Borromeo; but they will not ſet about his canonization, the price is ſo high. The plate and other preſents made to S. Carlo, are things of a prodigious value; ſome ſervices for the altar are all of gold, ſome very maſſive, and ſet with jewels; others ſo finely wrought, that the faſhion is thought equal to the value of the metal. The habits, and all the other ornaments for the function of his canonization, are all of an incredible wealth. He was indeed a prelate of great merit; and, according to the anſwer that a frier made to Philip de Comines, when he aſked him, How they came to qualify one of the worſt of their princes with the title of *ſaint*, in an inſcription which he read? which was, That they gave that title to all their benefactors; never man deſerved of a town this title ſo juſtly as Cardinal Borromeo did: for he laid out a prodigious wealth in Milan, leaving nothing to his family, but the honour of having produced ſo great a man; which is a real temporal inheritance to it. For as there have been ſince that time two cardinals of that family, ſo it is eſteemed a *caſa ſanta*; and every time that it produces an eccleſiaſtic of any conſiderable merit, he

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is ſure, if he lives to it, to be raiſed to this archbiſhoprick: for if there were one of the family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might diſpoſe the ſtate to a rebellion; and he were a bold man that would adventure on a competition with one of this family. He laid out a great deal on the dome, and conſecrated it, though the work will not be quite finiſhed yet for ſome ages; that being one of the crafts of the Italian prieſts, never to finiſh a great deſign, that ſo, by keeping it ſtill in an unfiniſhed ſtate, they may be always drawing great donatives to it from the ſuperſtition of the people. He built the archbiſhop's palace, which is very noble, and a ſeminary, a college for the Switzers, ſeveral pariſh-churches, and many convents. In ſhort, the whole town is full of the marks of his wealth. The riches of the churches of Milan ſtrike one with amazement; the building, the painting, the altars, and the plate, and every thing in the convents, except their libraries, are all ſigns both of great wealth, and of a very powerful ſuperſtition. But their libraries not only here, but all Italy over, are ſcandalous things. The room is often fine, and richly adorned; but the books are few, ill bound, and worſe choſen; and the ignorance of the prieſts both ſecular and regular is ſuch, that no man that hath not had occaſion to diſcover it can eaſily believe it. The convent of S. Victor, that is without the town, is by much the richeſt; it is compoſed of canons regular, called in Italy, *The order of mount Olive*, or *Olivetan*. That of the Barnabites is extreme rich; there is a pulpit and a confeſſional all inlaid with agates of different colours, finely ſpotted marbles, and *lapis lazuli*, that are thought almoſt ineſtimable. S. Laurence has a noble cupola, and a pulpit of the ſame form with that of the Barnabites. The Jeſuits, the Theatines, the Dominicans, and S. Se-

baſtians, are very rich. The citadel is too well known to need a deſcription; it is very regularly built, and is a moſt effectual reſtraint to keep the town in order: but it could not ſtand out againſt a good army three days; for it is ſo little, and ſo full of buildings, that it could not reſiſt a ſhower of bombs. The hoſpital is indeed a royal building; I was told it had ninety thouſand crowns revenue. The old court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot ſquare; and there are three rows of corridors or galleries all round the court, one in every ſtage, according to the Italian manner; which makes the lodgings very convenient, and gives a gallery before every door. It is true, theſe take up a great deal of the building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open ſpace, that is extreme cool on that ſide where the ſun doth not lie: for it is all open to the air, the wall being only ſupported by pillars, at the diſtance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this hoſpital there are not only galleries full of beds on both ſides, as is ordinary in all hoſpitals; but there are alſo a great many chambers, in which perſons whoſe condition was formerly diſtinguiſhed, are treated with a particular care. There is an out-houſe, which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the walls, which belongs to this hoſpital; it is an exact quarter of a mile ſquare, and there are three hundred and ſixty rooms in it, and a gallery runs all along before the chambers; ſo that, as the ſervice is convenient, the ſick have a covered walk before their doors. In the middle of this vaſt ſquare, there is an octangular chapel ſo contrived, that the ſick from all their beds may ſee the elevation of the *hoſtie*, and adore it. This houſe is for the plague, or for infectious

fectious fevers; and the ſick that want a freer air are alſo removed hither.

As for the devotions of this place, I ſaw here the Ambroſian office, which is diſtinguiſhed from the Roman, both in the muſic, which is much ſimpler, and in ſome other rites. The goſpel is read in a high pulpit at the lower end of the choir, that ſo it may be heard by all the people; though this is needleſs, ſince it is read in a language that they do not underſtand. When they go to ſay high maſs, the prieſt comes from the high altar to the lower end of the choir, where the offertory of the bread and the wine is made by ſome of the laity. They were nuns that made it when I was there. I heard a Capuchin preach here; it was the firſt ſermon I heard in Italy; and I was much ſurpriſed at many comical expreſſions and geſtures, but moſt of all with the concluſion: for there being in all the pulpits of Italy a crucifix on the ſide of the pulpit towards the altar, he, after a long addreſs to it, at laſt, in a forced tranſport, took it in his arms, and hugged it, and kiſſed it: but I obſerved, that before he kiſſed it, he, ſeeing ſome duſt on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was juſt under the pulpit. He entertained it with a long and tender careſs, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himſelf and them, yet I ſaw none ſhed. But if the ſermon in the morning ſurpriſed me, I wondered no leſs at two diſcourſes that I heard in one church at the ſame time in the afternoon. For there were two bodies of men ſet down in different places of the church, all covered, and two laymen, in ordinary habits, were entertaining them with diſcourſes of religion in a catechetical ſtyle. Theſe were confrairies, and thoſe were ſome of the more devout that inſtructed the reſt. This, as I never ſaw any where elſe, ſo I do not know whether it is peculiar to Milan or

not. My conductor could not ſpeak Latin; and the Italian there is ſo different from the true Tuſcan, which I only knew, that I could not underſtand him when he was engaged in a long diſcourſe; ſo I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been ſome inſtitution of Cardinal Borromeo's. The Ambroſian library, founded by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, is a very noble room, and well furniſhed; only it is too full of ſchoolmen and canoniſts, which are the chief ſtudies of Italy, and it hath too few books of a more ſolid and uſeful learning. One part of the diſpoſition of the room was pleaſant; there is a great number of chairs placed all round it at a competent diſtance from one another; and to every chair there belongs a deſk, with an ecritoire, that hath pen, ink, and paper in it; ſo that every man finds tools here for ſuch extracts as he would make. There is a little room of manuſcripts at the end of the great gallery, but the library-keeper knows little of them; a great many of them relate to their St Charles. I ſaw ſome fragments of Latin Bibles, but none ſeemed to be above ſix hundred years old. There are alſo ſome fragments of St Ambroſe's works, and of St Jerome's epiſtles, that are of the ſame antiquity. I was ſorry not to find St Ambroſe's works entire, that I might have ſeen whether the books of the ſacraments aſcribed to him are in ancient copies; for perhaps they belong to a more modern author. It is true, in theſe books the doctrine of a ſort of corporal preſence is aſſerted in very high expreſſions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is ſtronger againſt it than all thoſe citations can be for it: for the author gives us the formal words of the prayer of conſecration in his time, which he prefaces with ſome ſolemnity: *Will you know how the change is wrought? Hear the heavenly words;*

words; for the prieſt ſaith, &c. But whereas in the preſent canon in the maſs, the prayer of conſecration is for a good part of it very near in the ſame words with thoſe which he mentions, there is one eſſential difference; for in the canon they now pray, that the *hoſtie may be* to them the body and blood of Chriſt, (which, by the way, doth not agree too well with the notion of tranſubſtantiation, and approacheth more to the doctrine of the Lutherans); whereas in the prayer cited by that author, the *hoſtie* is ſaid to be *the figure of the body and blood of Chriſt.* Here is the language of the whole church of that time, and in the moſt important part of the divine office; which ſignifieth more to me than a thouſand quotations out of particular writers, which are but their private opinions; but this is the voice of the whole body in its addreſſes to God: and it ſeems the church of Rome, when the new doctrine of the corporal preſence was received, ſaw that this prayer of conſecration could not conſiſt with it, which made her change ſuch a main part of the office. This gave me a curioſity every where to ſearch for ancient offices; but as I found none in the abbey of St Germains that ſeemed older than the time of Charles the Great, ſo I found none of any great antiquity in all Italy. Thoſe publiſhed by Cardinal Bona, and ſince by P. Mabillon, that were brought from Heidelberg, are the moſt ancient that are in the Vatican; but theſe ſeem not to be above eight hundred years old. There are none of the ancient Roman offices now to be ſeen in the Vatican. I was amazed to find none of any great antiquity; which made me conclude, that either they were deſtroyed, that ſo the difference between ancient and modern rituals might not be turned againſt that church, as an undeniable evidence to prove the changes that ſhe hath made in divine matters; or that they were ſo well

well kept, that heretics were not ſuffered to look into them. But to return to the Ambroſian library. There is in it a manuſcript of great antiquity, though not of ſuch great conſequence; which is Ruffinus's tranſlation of Joſephus, that is written in the old Roman hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a deed in the curious collection that Count Maſcardo hath made at Verona, which, by the date, appears to have been written in Theodoſius's time, which is the ſame ſort of writing with the manuſcript of Ruffinus; ſo that it may be reckoned to have been writ in Ruffinus's own time; and this is the moſt valuable, though the leaſt known curioſity, in the whole library.

I need not ſay any thing of the curious works in cryſtal that are to be ſeen in Milan. The greateſt quantities that are in Europe, are found in the Alps, and are wrought here: but this is too well known to need any farther enlargement. It is certain, the Alps have much wealth ſhut up in their rocks, if the inhabitants knew how to ſearch for it. But I heard of no mines that were wrought, except iron mines; yet by the colourings that in many places the fountains make as they run along the rocks, one ſees cauſe to believe that there are mines and minerals ſhut up within them. Gold has been often found in the river Arve that runs by Geneva.

The laſt curioſity that I ſhall mention of the town of Milan, is the cabinet of the Chanoine Settala, which is now in his brother's hands; where there are a great many very valuable things both of art and nature. There is a lump of ore, in which there is both gold, and ſilver, and emeralds, and diamonds, which was brought from Peru. There are many curious motions; where, by an unſeen ſpring, a ball, after it hath rolled down through many winding deſcents, is thrown up, and ſo it

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ſeems to be a perpetual motion. This is done in ſeveral forms; and it is well enough diſguiſed to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little animals, that run about by ſprings, are alſo very pretty. There is a loadſtone of a vaſt force, that carries a great chain. There is alſo a monſtrous child, that was lately born in the hoſpital, which is preſerved in ſpirit of wine. It is double below. It hath one breaſt and neck, two pair of ears, a vaſt head, and but one face. As for the buildings in Milan, they are big and ſubſtantial; but they have not much regular or beautiful architecture. The governor's palace hath ſome noble apartments in it. The chief palace of the town is that of the Homodei, which was built by a banker. There is one inconvenience in Milan, which throws down all the pleaſure that one can find in it. They have no glaſs windows; ſo that one is either expoſed to the air, or ſhut up in a dungeon. And this is ſo univerſal, that there is not one houſe of ten that hath glaſs in their windows. The ſame defect is in Florence, beſides all the ſmall towns of Italy; which is an effect of their poverty; for, what by the oppreſſion of the government, what by the no leſs ſqueezing oppreſſion of their prieſts, who drain all the reſt of their wealth, that is not eat up by the prince, to inrich their churches and convents, the people here are reduced to a poverty that cannot be eaſily believed by one that ſees the wealth that is in their churches. And this is going on ſo conſtantly in Milan, that it is ſcarce accountable from whence ſo vaſt a treaſure can be found. But purgatory is a fund not eaſily exhauſted. The wealth of the Milaneſe conſiſts chiefly in their ſilks; and that trade falls ſo mightily by the vaſt importations that the Eaſt-India companies bring into Europe, that all Italy feels this very ſenſibly, and languiſhes extremely by the great fall that is in the ſilk-trade.

There

There is a great magnificence in Milan. The nobility affect to make a noble appearance, both in their cloaths, their coaches, and their attendants; and the women go abroad with more freedom here than in any town of Italy. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am,

Your's, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN the account that I gave you of Geneva, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary perſon that is there, Mrs Walkier. Her father is of Shaffhouſe. She loſt her ſight when ſhe was but a year old, by being too near a ſtove that was very hot. There reſts in the upper part of her eye ſo much ſight, that ſhe diſtinguiſhes day from night; and when any perſon ſtands between her and the light, ſhe will diſtinguiſh by the head and its dreſs, a man from a woman; but when ſhe turns down her eyes, ſhe ſees nothing. She hath a vaſt memory. Beſides the French, which is her natural language, ſhe ſpeaks both High Dutch, Italian, and Latin. She hath all the Pſalms by heart, in French, and many of them in Dutch and Italian. She underſtands the old philoſophy well, and is now ſtudying the new. She hath ſtudied the body of divinity well, and hath the text of the ſcriptures very ready. On all which matters I had long converſation with her. She not only ſings well, but plays rarely on the organ; and I was told ſhe played on the violin, but her violin was out of order. But that which is moſt of all, is, ſhe writes legibly. In order to her learning to write, her father, who is a worthy man, and hath ſuch tenderneſs for her, that he furniſheth her with maſters of all ſorts, ordered letters to be carved in wood; and ſhe, by feeling

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ing the characters, formed ſuch an idea of them, that ſhe writes with a *crayon* ſo diſtinctly, that her writing can be well read; of which I have ſeveral eſſays. I ſaw her write. She doth it more nimbly than can be imagined. She hath a machine that holds the paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the reſt, ſhe is a perſon of extraordinary devotion, great reſignation to the will of God, and a profound humility. The preceptor, that her father kept in the houſe with her, hath likewiſe a wonderful faculty of acquiring tongues. When he came firſt to Geneva, (for he is of Zurich), he ſpoke not a word of French, and within thirteen months he preached in French correctly, and with a good accent. He alſo began to ſtudy Italian in the month of November, and before the end of the following February he preached in Italian. His accent was good, and his ſtyle was florid; which was very extraordinary; for the Italian language is not ſpoken in Geneva, though the race of the Italians do keep up ſtill an Italian church there.

Milan, Oct. 1. 1685.

LETTER III.

I Have now another month over my head ſince I writ laſt to you, and ſo I know you expect an account of the moſt conſiderable things that have occurred to me ſince my laſt, from Milan. Twenty miles from Milan we paſſed through Lodi, a miſerable garriſon, though a frontier-town. But indeed the frontiers, both of the Spaniards and the Venetians, as well as thoſe of the other princes of Italy, ſhew that they are not very apprehenſive one of another. And when one paſſes through thoſe places

places which are repreſented in hiſtory as places of great ſtrength, capable of reſiſting a long ſiege, he muſt acknowledge, that the ſight of them brings the idea that he had conceived of them a great many degrees lower. For Lombardy, which was ſo long the ſeat of war, could not ſtand out againſt a good army for ſo many days, as it did then for years. The garriſon of Crema, which is the firſt of the Venetian territory, is no better than that of Lodi, only the people in the Venetian dominion live happier than under the Spaniard.

The ſenate ſends *podeſtas*, much like the *bailiffs* of the Switzers, who order the juſtice and the civil government of the juriſdiction aſſigned them. There is alſo a captain-general, who hath the military authority in his hands; and theſe two are checks upon one another, as the *baſhaws* and the *cadis* are among the Turks. But here in Crema the town is ſo ſmall, that both theſe are in one perſon. We were there in the time of the fair. Linen cloth and cheeſe (which though it goes by the name of the Parmeſan, is made chiefly in Lodi) are the main commodities of the fair. The magnificence of the *podeſta* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the fair with a great train of coaches, all in his own livery; and the two coaches in which he and his lady rode, were both extraordinary rich. His was a huge bed-coach, all the outſide black velvet, and a mighty rich gold fringe, lined with black damaſk, flowered with gold. From Crema it is thirty miles to Breſcia; which is a great town, and full of trade and wealth. Here they make the beſt barrels for piſtols and muſkets of all Italy. There are great iron works near it; but the war with the Turk had occaſioned an order, that none might be ſold without a permiſſion from Venice. They are building a noble dome at Breſcia. I was ſhewed a nunnery there, which is now under a great

great diſgrace. Some years ago, a new biſhop coming thither, began with the viſitation of that nunnery. He diſcovered two vaults; by one, men came ordinarily into it; and by another, the nuns that were big went and lay in childbed. When he was examining the nuns ſeverely concerning thoſe vaults, ſome of them told him, that his own prieſts did much worſe. He ſhut up the nuns; ſo that thoſe who are profeſſed live ſtill there, but none come to take the vail; and by this means the houſe will ſoon come to an end. The citadel lies over the town on a rock, and commands it abſolutely. Both here and in Crema the towns have begun a compliment, within theſe laſt ten or twelve years, to their *podeſtas*; which is a matter of great ornament to their palaces, but will grow to a vaſt charge; for they erect ſtatues to their *podeſtas*. And this being once begun, muſt be carried on, otherwiſe thoſe to whom the like honour is not done, will reſent it as an high affront; and the revenges of the noble Venetians are dreadful things to their ſubjects. This name of *podeſta* is very ancient; for in the Roman times the chief magiſtrates of the leſſer towns were called the *poteſtas*; as appears by that of Juvenal,

——*Fidenarum Gabiorumve eſſe poteſtas.*

From Breſcia the beauty of Lombardy is a little interrupted: for as all the way from Milan to Breſcia is as one garden; ſo here on the one ſide we come under the mountains, and we paſs by the lake of Guarda, which is forty miles long, and, where it is broadeſt, is twenty miles over. The miles indeed all Lombardy over are extreme ſhort; for I walked often four or five miles in a walk, and I found a thouſand paces made their common mile; but in Tuſcany, and the kingdom of Naples, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We paſs through a great

heath for ſeven or eight miles on this ſide of Verona, which begins to be cultivated. Verona is a vaſt town, and much of it well built. There are many rich churches in it; but there is ſo little trade ſtirring, and ſo little money going, that it is not eaſy here to change a piſtole without taking their coin of baſe alloy, which doth not paſs out of the Veroneſe: for this ſeems a ſtrange maxim of the Venetians, to ſuffer thoſe ſmall ſtates to retain ſtill a coin peculiar to them, which is extreme inconvenient for commerce. The known antiquity of Verona is the amphitheatre, one of the leaſt of all that the Romans built, but the beſt preſerved; for though moſt of the great ſtones of the outſide are picked out; yet the great ſloping vault, on which the rows of the ſeats are laid, is entire. The rows of the ſeats are alſo entire. They are four and forty rows. Every row is a foot and a half high, and as much in breadth; ſo that a man ſits conveniently in them under the feet of thoſe of the higher row; and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole amphitheatre can hold twenty-three thouſand perſons. In the vaults, under the rows of ſeats, were the ſtalls of the beaſts that were preſented to entertain the company. The thickneſs of the building, from the outward wall to the loweſt row of ſeats, is ninety foot. But this noble remnant of antiquity is ſo often and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I will ſay no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Muſæum calceolarium*, now in the hands of Count Maſcardo, where there is a whole apartment of rooms all furniſhed with antiquities and rarities. There are ſome old inſcriptions, made by two towns in Afric, to the honour of M. Craſſus. There is a great collection of medals and medaillons, and of the Roman weights, with their inſtruments for their ſacrifices. There are many curioſities of nature, and a great

collection

collection of pictures; of which many are of Paulo Veroneſe's hand. There is a noble garden in Verona, that riſes up in terraſſes the whole height of a hill, in which there are many ancient inſcriptions, which belongs to Court Giuſto. As we go from Verona to Vincenza, which is thirty miles, we return to the beauty of Lombardy; for there is all the way, as it were, a ſucceſſion of gardens. The ground is better cultivated here than I ſaw it in any other place of Italy: but the wine is not good; for at the roots of all their trees they plant a vine, which grows up winding about the tree to which it joins: but the ſoil is too rich to produce a rich wine, for that requires a dry ground. There is near the lake of Guarda a very extraordinary wine, which they call *vino ſanto*, which drinks like the beſt ſort of Canary. It is not made till Chriſtmas, and from thence it carries the name of *holy wine*; and it is not to be drunk till Midſummer, for it is ſo long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not marked down how long it may be kept. We had it there for a groat an Engliſh quart. I wondered that they did not trade with it. All the cattle of Italy are gray or white; and all their hogs are black, except in the Bologneſe, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reaſons of theſe things. It is certain hogs fleſh in Italy is much better than it is in France and England. Whether the truffles, on which they feed much in winter, occaſion this or not, I know not. The huſks of the preſſed grapes are alſo a mighty nouriſhment to them; but cattle of that grayiſh colour are certainly weaker. The carriage of Italy is generally performed by them. And this is very hard work in Lombardy, when it hath rained ever ſo little; for the ground being quite level, and there being no raiſed highways or cauſeways, the carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath ſtill more of its ancient liberty reſerved than any of theſe towns; as Padua hath leſs: for it delivered itſelf to the Venetians; whereas the other diſputed long with it, and brought it often very low. One ſees the marks of liberty in Vincenza, in the riches of their palaces and churches, of which many are newly built. They have a modern theatre, made in imitation of the ancient Roman theatres. Count Valarano's garden at the port of Verona, is the fineſt thing of the town. There is in it a very noble alley of oranges and citrons, ſome as big as a man's body; but thoſe are covered all the winter long: for in this appears the ſenſible difference of Lombardy from thoſe parts of Italy that lie to the ſouth of the Apennines, that here generally they keep their oranges and citrons in great boxes as we do in England, that ſo they may be lodged in winter, and defended from the breezes that blow ſometimes ſo ſharp from the Alps, that otherwiſe they would kill thoſe delicate plants; whereas in Tuſcany they grow, as other trees, in their gardens; and in the kingdom of Naples they grow wild, without any care or cultivation. We were at Vincenza upon a holiday, and there I ſaw a preparation for a proceſſion that was to be in the afternoon. I did not wonder at what a French Papiſt ſaid to me, that he could hardly bear the religion of Italy, the idolatry in it was ſo groſs. The ſtatue of the virgin was of wood, ſo finely painted, that I thought the head was wax. It was richly clad, and had a crown on its head, and was ſet full of flowers. How they did when it was carried about, I do not know; but in the morning all people ran to it, and ſaid their prayers to it, and kiſſed the ground before it, with all the appearances of devotion.

From Vincenza it is eighteen miles to Padua, all like a garden. Here one ſees the decays of a vaſt

vaſt city, which was once one of the biggeſt of all Italy. The compaſs is the ſame that it was; but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and houſes there go almoſt for nothing. The air is extreme good; and there is ſo great a plenty of all things except money, that a little money goes a great way. The univerſity here, though ſo much ſupported by the Venetians, that they pay fifty profeſſors, yet ſinks extremely. There are no men of any great fame now in it; and the quarrels among the ſtudents have driven away moſt of the ſtrangers that uſed to come and ſtudy there; for it is not ſafe to ſtir abroad here after ſunſet. The number of palaces here is incredible: and though the nobility of Padua is almoſt quite ruined, yet the beauty of their ancient palaces ſhews what they once were. The Venetians have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all thoſe conquered cities, continue ſtill among them; for while one kills another, and the children of the other take their revenges afterwards, both come under the *bando* by this means, and the confiſcation goes to the ſenate. At ſome times of grace, when the ſenate wants money, and offers a pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty perſons are incredible. In Vincenza, and the country that belongs to it, I was aſſured by Monſieur Patin, that learned antiquary, that hath been many years a profeſſor in Padua, that there were five and thirty thouſand pardoned at the laſt grace. This I could hardly believe; but he bid me write it down upon his word. The nobility of Padua and of the other towns ſeem not to ſee what a profit their quarrels bring to the Venetians, and how they eat out their families; for one family in the ſame man's time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thouſand ducats revenue to leſs than three thouſand, by its falling at ſeveral times under

the *bando*. But their jealouſies and their revenges are purſued by them with ſo much vigour, that when theſe are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the amphitheatre, though nothing but the outward wall ſtands. There is here alſo, as well as in Milan, an inward town, called *the city*, and an outward without that, called *the burgo*; but though there is a ditch about the city, the great ditch and wall goeth about all; and Padua is eight miles in compaſs. It lies almoſt round. The public hall is the nobleſt of Italy. The dome is an ancient and mean building. But the church of St Anthony, eſpecially the holy chapel in it, where the ſaint lies, is one of the beſt pieces of modern ſculpture; for round the chapel the chief miracles in the legend of that ſaint are repreſented in *mezzo relievo*, in a very ſurpriſing manner. The devotion that is paid to this ſaint all Lombardy over is amazing. He is called by way of excellence, *Il ſanto*, and the beggars generally aſk alms for his ſake. But among the little vows that hang without the holy chapel, there is one that is the higheſt pitch of blaſphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, ſpeaking of the ſaint, *quos non audit & ipſe Deus*; i. e. *He hears thoſe whom God himſelf doth not hear*. St Juſtina is a church ſo well ordered within, the architecture is ſo beautiful, it is ſo well enlightened, and the *cupolas* are ſo advantageouſly placed, that, if the outſide anſwered the inſide, it would be one of the beſt churches of Italy; but the building is of brick, and it hath no frontiſpiece. There are many new altars, made as fine as they are idolatrous, all full of ſtatues of marble. This abbey hath an hundred thouſand ducats of revenue; and ſo by its wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the Benedictine order. Cardinal Barberigo is Biſhop here. He ſeems to ſet St Carlo

ſo before him as his pattern. He hath founded a noble ſeminary for the ſecular prieſts: he lives in a conſtant diſcipline himſelf, and endeavours to reform his clergy all he can; but he is now in ill terms with his canons, who are all noble Venetians, and ſo allow themſelves great liberties; of which they will not willingly be abridged. He is charitable to a high degree; and is, in all reſpects, a very extraordinary man.

In the Venetian territory their ſubjects live eaſy and happy, if they could be ſo wiſe as to give over their quarrels: but though the taxes are not high, they oppreſs their tenants ſo ſeverely, that the peaſants live moſt miſerably. Yet on all hands round about them the oppreſſions being more intolerable, they know not whither to go for eaſe; whereas, on the contrary, the miſeries under which their neighbours grone, chiefly thoſe of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, ſend in an increaſe of people among them; ſo that they are well ſtocked with people. But the Venetians are ſo jealous of their ſubjects underſtanding military matters, which may diſpoſe them to revolt, that they never make any levies among them for their wars. This jealouſy is the true ground of that maxim; though another is pretended that is more plauſible, which is, their care of their own people, whom they ſtudy to preſerve; and therefore they hire ſtrangers, rather than expoſe their ſubjects. It is certain, a revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate; for the garriſons and fortifications are ſo ſlight, that thoſe great towns could eaſily ſhake off their yoke, if it were not for the factions that ſtill reign among them; by which one party would chuſe rather to expoſe the other to the rigour of the inquiſitors, than concur with them in aſſerting their liberty. And the inquiſitors in ſuch caſes proceed ſo ſecretly, and yet ſo effectually, that none dares truſt another with a ſecret of ſuch conſequence:

conſequence: and the oppreſſed nobility of thoſe ſtates retain ſtill ſo much of their old and unſubdued inſolence, and treat ſuch as are under them ſo cruelly, that the Venetians are as ſecure in thoſe conqueſts, as if they had many ſtrong citadels, and numerous garriſons ſpread up and down among them. From Padua down to Venice, all along the river Brent, there are many palaces of the noble Venetians on both ſides of the river, built with ſo great a variety of architecture, that there is not one of them like another. There is alſo the like diverſity in the laying out of their gardens. And here they retire during the hot months; and ſome allow themſelves all the exceſſes of diſſolute liberty that can poſſibly be imagined. From Lizza Fucina, which is at the mouth of the Brent, we paſs for five or ſix miles on the Lagunes, or ſhallows, to Venice. Theſe ſhallows ſink of late ſo much, that the preſerving Venice ſtill an iſland, is like to become as great a charge to the Venetians, as the keeping out the ſea is to the Dutch; for they uſe all poſſible induſtry to cleanſe the channels of the Lagunes, and to keep them full of water: and yet many think, that the water hath failed ſo much in this laſt age, that if it continues to abate at the ſame rate, within an age or two more Venice may become a part of the terra firma. It is certainly the moſt ſurpriſing ſight in the whole world, to ſee ſo vaſt a city ſituated thus in the ſea, and ſuch a number of iſlands ſo united together by bridges, brought to ſuch a regular figure, the pilotty ſupplying the want of earth to build on, and all ſo nobly built, which is, of all the things that one can ſee, the moſt amazing. And though this republic is much ſunk from what it was, both by the great loſſes they have ſuffered in their wars with the Turks, and by the great decay of trade; yet there is an incredible wealth, and a vaſt plenty of

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all things in this place. I will not offer to deſcribe either the church or the palace of St Mark, which are too well known to need a long digreſſion to be made for them. The painting of the walls, and the roofs of the halls and public rooms in the palace, are of vaſt value. Here I ſaw that ſtory of Pope Alexander III. treading on the neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa. The nobleneſs of the ſtair-caſes, the riches of the halls, and the beauty of the whole building, are much prejudiced by the beaſtlineſs of thoſe that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common houſe of office, than ſo noble a palace. And the great hall, where the whole body of the nobility meet in the great council, hath nothing but the roof and walls that anſwers to ſuch an aſſembly; for the ſeats are liker the benches of an auditory of ſcholars, than of ſo glorious a body. When the two ſides of this palace are built as the third, which is the moſt hid, it will be one of the moſt glorious palaces that the world can ſhew. The two ſides that are moſt ſeen, the one facing the ſquare of St Mark, and the other the great canal, are only of brick, the third being all of marble; but the war of Candy put a ſtop to the building. St Mark's church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great antiquity, and the vaſt riches of the building. It is dark and low; but the pavement is ſo rich a moſaic, and the whole roof is alſo moſaic, the outſide and inſide are of ſuch excellent marble, the frontiſpiece is adorned with ſo many pillars of porphyry and jaſper, and above all with the four horſes of Corinthian braſs that Tiridates brought to Tiberius, which were carried afterwards to Conſtantinople, and were brought from thence to Venice, and in which the gilding is ſtill very bright, that when all this is conſidered, one doth no where ſee ſo much coſt

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brought together. I did not ſee the goſpel of St Mark, which is one of the valuableſt things of the treaſure; but they do not now open it to ſtrangers. Yet Dr Grandi, a famous phyſician there, told me, that by a particular order he was ſuffered to open it. He told me, it was all writ in capital letters; but the characters were ſo worn out, that though he could diſcern the ends of ſome letters, he could not ſee enough to help him to diſtinguiſh them, or to know whether the manuſcript was in Greek or Latin. I will not ſay one word of the arſenal: for as I ſaw it in its worſt ſtate, the war that is now on foot having diſfurniſhed a great deal of it; ſo it hath been often deſcribed, and it is known to be the nobleſt magazine, the beſt ordered, and of the greateſt variety, that is in the whole world. It is true, it is all that this ſtate hath; ſo that, if the magazines of other princes, which lie ſpread up and down in the different places of their dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater ſhew.

The nobleſt convent of Venice is that of the Dominicans, called *St John and St Paul*. The church and chapels are vaſtly rich; there is one of St Luke's Madona's here, as they pretend. The dormitory is very great; the room for the library, and every thing in it, except the books, is extreme fine. But St George's, which is a convent of the Benedictines, in an iſle entirely poſſeſſed by them, over-againſt St Mark's ſquare, is much the richeſt: the church is well contrived, and well adorned; and not only the whole building is very magnificent, but, which is more extraordinary at Venice, they have a large garden, and noble walks in it. The Redemptore and the Salute are two noble churches, that are the effects of vows that the ſenate made when they were afflicted with the plague. The latter is much the finer; it is to the virgin,

virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: ſo naturally doth the devotion of that church carry it higher for the mother than the ſon. It is true, the Salute is later than the other; ſo no wonder if the architecture and the riches exceed that which is more ancient. The ſchool of St Roch, and the chapel and hall, are full of great pieces of Tintoret's; a cœna of Paulo Veroneſe in the refectory of St George, and the picture of St Peter the martyr of Titian's, are the moſt celebrated pieces of Venice. Duke Peſaro's tomb in the friery is the nobleſt I ever ſaw. But if the riches of all the convents and pariſh-churches of Venice amazed me, the fronts eſpecially, many of which are of white marble, beautified with ſeveral ſtatues; the meanneſs of the library of St Mark did no leſs ſurpriſe me. There are in the antichamber to it ſtatues of vaſt value, and the whole roof of the library is compoſed of ſeveral pieces of the greateſt maſters, put in ſeveral frames: but the library hath nothing anſwerable to the riches of the caſe; for the Greek manuſcripts are all modern. I turned over a great many, and ſaw none above five hundred years old. I was indeed told, that the laſt library-keeper was accuſed for having conveyed away many of their manuſcripts; and that four years ago, being clapped in priſon for this by the inquiſitors, he, to prevent further ſeverities, poiſoned himſelf. I went to the convent of the Servi, but I found Father Paul was not in ſuch conſideration there as he is elſewhere. I aſked for his tomb; but they made no account of him, and ſeemed not to know where it was. It is true, the perſon to whom I was recommended, was not in Venice; ſo perhaps they refined too much in this matter. I had great diſcourſe with ſome at Venice concerning the memorials out of which Father Paul drew his hiſtory, which are no doubt all preſerved

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with great care in their archives; and ſince the tranſactions of the council of Trent, as they are of great importance, ſo they are become now much controverted, by the different relations that Father Paul and Cardinal Pallavicini have given the world of that matter. The only way to put an end to all diſputes in matter of fact, is, to print the originals themſelves. A perſon of great credit at Venice promiſed me to do his utmoſt to get that propoſition ſet on foot; though the great exactneſs that the government there hath always affected, as to the matter of their archives, is held ſo ſacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any ſuch ſearch. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long converſation that I had with a perſon of great eminence at Venice; that as he was long at Conſtantinople, ſo he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in Italy. He told me he was at Conſtantinople when the inquiry into the doctrine of the Greek church was ſet on foot, occaſioned by the famous diſpute between Mr Arnaud and Mr Claude. He, being a zealous Roman Catholic, was dealt with to aſſiſt in that buſineſs; but, being a man of great honour and ſincerity, he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he could not meddle in it. He hath a very low and bad opinion of the Greeks; and told me, *That none of their prieſts were more inveterate enemies to the church of Rome, than thoſe that were bred up at Rome:* for they, to free themſelves of the prejudices that their countrymen are apt to conceive againſt them by reaſon of their education among the Latins, do affect to ſhew an oppoſition to the Latin church beyond any other Greeks. He told me, that he knew the ignorance and corruption of the Greeks was ſuch, that as they did not know the doctrines of their own church, ſo a very little money, or the hope of protection from any of the ambaſſadors

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that came from the weſt, would prevail with them to ſign any thing that could be deſired of them. He added one thing, that though he firmly believed *tranſubſtantiation* himſelf, he did not think they believed it, let them ſay what they pleaſed themſelves. He took his meaſures of the doctrine of their church rather from what they did, than from what they ſaid; for their rites not being changed now for a great many ages, were the true indications of the doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the tradition of their doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they ſaw advantages or protection ſet before them. Therefore he concluded, that ſince they did not adore the ſacrament after the conſecration, that was an evident ſign they did not believe the corporal preſence, and was of a force well able to balance all their ſubſcriptions. He told me, he was often ſcandalized to ſee them open the bag in which the ſacrament was preſerved, and ſhew it with no ſort of reſpect, no more than when they ſhewed any manuſcript; and he looked on adoration as ſuch a neceſſary conſequent of tranſubſtantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a church that did not practiſe the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholic at Paris told me. He ſaid, the originals of thoſe atteſtations were in too exact and too correct a ſtyle to have been formed in Greece. He aſſured me they were penned at Paris by one that was a maſter of the purity of the Greek tongue. I do not name theſe perſons, becauſe they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief ornaments of Venice was the famous young woman that ſpake five tongues well, of which the Latin and Greek were two. She paſſed Doctor of phyſic at Padua, according to the ordinary forms; but, which was beyond all, ſhe was a perſon of ſuch extraor-

dinary virtue and piety, that she is spoken of as a saint. She died some months before I came to Venice. She was of the noble family of the Cornaros, though not of the three chief branches; which are, St Maurice, St Paul, and Calle, who are descended from the three brothers of the renowned Queen of Cyprus; but the distinction of her family was Piscopia. Her extraordinary merit made all people unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent on the one side: for though the Cornaros reckon themselves a size of nobility beyond all the other families of Venice; yet her father having entertained a Gondalier's daughter so long, that he had some children by her; at last, for their sakes, married the mother, and paid a considerable fine to save the forfeiture of nobility, which his children must have undergone by reason of the meanness of the mother's birth. The Cornaros carry it so high, that many of the daughters of that family have made themselves nuns, because they thought their own name was so noble, that they could not induce themselves to change it for any other. And when lately one of that family married the heir of the Sagredos, which is also one of the ancientest families, that was extreme rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, (for the Cornaros are now very low), some of their friends came to wish them joy of so advantageous a match; but they very coldly rejected the compliment, and bid the others go and wish the Sagredos joy, since they thought the advantage was wholly on their side.

There are of the truly ancient noble families of Venice four and twenty yet remaining; and even among these there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank. Since the first formation of their senate they have created many senators. In their wars with Genoa they conferred that honour on thirty families. Several of their

generals have had that honour given them as a reward of their ſervice. They have alſo offered this honour to ſome Royal families; for both the families of Valois and Bourbon were nobles of Venice; and Henry III. when he came through Venice and Poland, to take poſſeſſion of the crown of *France*, went and ſat among them, and drew his ballot as a noble Venetian. Many Popes have procured this honour for their nephews; only the Barberinis would have the Venetians offer it to them without their aſking it, and the Venetians would not give it without the others aſked it; and ſo it ſtuck at this. But, during the war of Candy, Cardinal Francis Barberini gave twelve thouſand crowns a-year towards the war; and the temper found for making them noble Venetians was, that the Queen-mother of *France* moved the ſenate to grant it. In all the creations of ſenators before the laſt war of Candy they were free; and the conſiderations were either great ſervices, or the great dignity of thoſe on whom they beſtowed this honour. Thoſe new families are divided into thoſe that are called *ducal families*, and thoſe that were called ſimply *new families*. The reaſon of the former deſignation is not rightly underſtood; but one that knew all that related to that conſtitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it. That which naturally occurs as the reaſon of it, is, That all thoſe families that are called *ducal*, have had the dukedom in their houſe: but as all the old families have had the ſame honour, though they carry not that title; ſo ſome of the new families have alſo had it, that yet are not called *ducal*. Others ſay, that thoſe families that have had branches who have been made Dukes without their being firſt procurators of St Mark, or that have been choſen to that honour without their pretending to it, are called *ducal*. But the true account of this is, that

from the year 1450 to the year 1620, for an hundred and ſeventy years, there was a combination made among thoſe new families to preſerve the dukedom ſtill among them; for the old families carrying it high, and excluding the new families from the chief honours, nineteen of the new families entered into mutual engagements to exclude the ancient nobility. It is true, they made the dukedom ſometimes fall on ſome of the new families that were not of this aſſociation, but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient families were ſhut out; and that it appeared that they bore the chief ſway in the election. This combination was a thing known to the very people, though the inquiſitors did all they could to break it, or at leaſt to hide it; ſo that I never met with it in any of their authors. But this failed in the year 1620, when Memmio was choſen Duke, who was deſcended of one of the ancient nobility; which was ſo great a mortification to the *Caſe Ducale*, that one of them, Veniero, hanged himſelf through the rage to which that diſgrace drove him; but his man came into the room in time before he was dead, and cut him down; and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the Bembos, two of the Cornaros, and one of the Contarinis, and the preſent prince of the Juſtiniani, the firſt of that family that hath had that honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the ancient families: ſo that this faction is now ſo entirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in Venice itſelf) that it was ever amongſt them. And thus time, and other accidents, bring about happy events, which no care nor induſtry could produce; for that which all the endeavours of the inquiſitors could not compaſs, was brought about of itſelf. It is true, the factions in Venice, though violent enough in the perſons of thoſe who manage them,

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yet are not derived by them as an inheritance to their poſterity, as it was among the Florentines; who, though they value themſelves as a ſize of men much above the Venetians, whom they deſpiſe as a phlegmatic and dull race of people, yet ſhewed how little they underſtood, with all their vivacity, to conduct their ſtate; ſince, by their domeſtic heats, they loſt their liberty, which the Venetians have had the wiſdom ſtill to preſerve. This faction of the *Caſa Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall; for they loſt more than they got by it: for the ancient families, in revenge, ſet themſelves againſt them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous employments of the ſtate. For the others being only united in that ſingle point relating to the dukedom, the ancient families let them carry it; but in all other competitions they ſet up always ſuch competitors againſt the pretenders that were of the ducal families, who were much more eſteemed than theſe were; ſo that they ſhut them out of all the beſt offices of the republic. Such a faction as this was, if it had been ſtill kept up, might in the concluſion have proved fatal to their liberty. It is indeed a wonder to ſee the dignity of the Duke ſo much courted; for he is only a priſoner of ſtate, tied up to ſuch rules, ſo ſeverely reſtrained, and ſhut up as it were in an apartment of the palace of St Mark, that it is not ſtrange to ſee ſome of the greateſt families, in particular the Cornaros, decline it. All the family, how numerous ſoever, muſt retire out of the ſenate, when a Duke is choſen out of it; only one that is next of kin to him ſits ſtill, but without a vote: and the only real privilege that the Duke hath, is, that he can of himſelf, without communicating with the Savii, propoſe matters either to the council of ten, to the ſenate, or to the great council; whereas all other propoſitions muſt be firſt offered

to the Savii, and examined by them; who have a ſort of tribunitian power to reject what they diſlike. And though they cannot hinder the Duke to make a propoſition, yet they can mortify him when he hath made it; they can hinder it from being voted; and after it is voted, they can ſuſpend the execution of it till it is examined over again. And a Duke that is of an active ſpirit muſt reſolve to endure many of theſe mortifications: for it is certain, that the Savii do ſometimes affect to ſhew the greatneſs of their authority, and exerciſe a ſort of tyranny in the rejecting of propoſitions, when they intend to humble thoſe that make them. Yet the greateſt part of the beſt families court this honour of dukedom extremely. When Sagredo was upon the point of being choſen Duke, there was ſo violent an outcry againſt it over all Venice, becauſe of the diſgrace that they thought would come on the republic, if they had a prince whoſe noſe had miſcarried in ſome unfortunate diſorders, that the ſenate complied ſo far with this averſion that the people teſtified, that though the inquiſitors took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the mutineers, yet they let the deſign for Sagredo fall; upon which he was ſo much diſguſted, that he retired to a houſe he had in the terra firma, and never appeared more at Venice. During which time of his retirement he wrote two books; the one, *Memoire Ottomaniche*, which is printed; and he is accounted the beſt of all their modern authors; the other was, *Memoirs of the government and hiſtory of Venice*, which hath never been printed; and ſome ſay it is too ſincere and too particular, ſo that it is thought it will be reſerved among their archives.

It hath been a ſort of maxim now for ſome time, not to chuſe a married man to be Duke; for the coronation of a Ducheſs goes high, and hath coſt a-

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bove a hundred thouſand ducats. Some of the ancient families have affected the title of *prince*, and have called their branches *princes of the blood*; and though the Cornaros have done this more than any other; yet others, upon the account of ſome principalities that their anceſtors had in the iſlands of the Archipelago, have alſo affected thoſe vain titles. But the inquiſitors have long ago obliged them to lay aſide all thoſe high titles; and ſuch of them as boaſt too much of their blood, find the diſlike which that brings on them very ſenſibly; for whenſoever they pretend to any great employments, they find themſelves always excluded. When an election of ambaſſadors was propoſed, or to any of the chief offices, it was wont to be made in thoſe terms, that the council muſt chuſe one of its principal members for ſuch an employment. But becauſe this looked like a term of diſtinction among the nobility, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and inſtead of *principal*, they uſe now the term *honourable*; which comprehends the whole body of their nobility, without any diſtinction. It is at Venice, in the church, as well as in the ſtate, that the head of the body hath a great title, and particular honours done him; whereas in the mean while this is a mere pageantry, and under theſe big words there is lodged only a light ſhadow of authority; for their Biſhop has the glorious title of *Patriarch*, as well as the Duke is called their *Prince*, and *his Serenity*, and hath his name ſtamped upon their coin. So the Patriarch, with all this high title, hath really no authority; for not only St Mark's church is entirely exempted from his juriſdiction, and is immediately ſubject to the Duke; but his authority is in all other things ſo ſubject to the ſenate, and ſo regulated by them, that he hath no more power than they are pleaſed to allow him. So that the ſenate is as really the

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ſupreme governor over all perſons and in all cauſes, as the Kings of England have pretended to be in their own dominions ſince the reformation. But beſides all this, the clergy of Venice have a very extraordinary ſort of exemption, and are a ſort of body like a preſbytery independent of the Biſhop. The curates are choſen by the inhabitants of every pariſh: and this makes that no noble Venetian is ſuffered to pretend to any curacy; for they think it below that dignity, to ſuffer one of their body to engage in a competition with one of a lower order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told, the manner of thoſe elections was the moſt ſcandalous thing poſſible; for the ſeveral candidates appear on the day of election, and ſet out their own merits, and defame the other pretenders in the fouleſt language, and in the moſt ſcurrilous manner imaginable. The ſecrets of all their lives are publiſhed in moſt reproachful terms; and nothing is ſo abject and ridiculous, that is not put in practice on thoſe occaſions. There is a ſort of an aſſociation among the curates for judging of their common concerns; and ſome of the laity of the ſeveral pariſhes aſſiſt in thoſe courts: ſo that here is a real preſbytery. The great libertinage that is ſo undecently practiſed by moſt ſorts of people at Venice, extends itſelf to the clergy to ſuch a degree, that though ignorance and vice ſeem the only indelible characters that they carry generally over all Italy; yet thoſe appear here in a much more conſpicuous manner than elſewhere; and upon theſe popular elections all comes out. The nuns of Venice have been under much ſcandal for a great while. There are ſome nunneries that are as famous for their ſtrictneſs and exactneſs to their rules, as others are for the liberties they take; chiefly thoſe of St Zachary and St Laurence, where none but noble Venetians are admitted, and where

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it is not ſo much as pretended that they have retired for devotion; but it is owned to be done merely that they might not be too great a charge to their family. They are not vailed; their neck and breaſt are bare, and they receive much company. But that which I ſaw was in a public room, in which there were many grills for ſeveral parlours, ſo that the converſation is very confuſed; for there being a different company at every grill, and the Italians ſpeaking generally very loud, the noiſe of ſo many loud talkers is very diſagreeable. The nuns talk much, and very ungracefully; and allow themſelves a liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the Patriarch intended to bring a reform into thoſe houſes; but the nuns of St Laurence, with whom he began, told him plainly they were noble Venetians, who had choſen that way of life as more convenient for them; but they would not ſubject themſelves to his regulations; yet he came and would have ſhut up their houſe; ſo they went to ſet fire to it; upon which the ſenate interpoſed, and ordered the Patriarch to deſiſt. There is no Chriſtian ſtate in the world that hath expreſſed a jealouſy of churchmens getting into the public councils ſo much as the Venetians; for as a noble Venetian that goes into orders loſes thereby his right of going to vote in the great council, ſo when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole kindred and family muſt, during their lives, withdraw from the great council; and are alſo incapable of all employments: and by a clauſe which they added when they received the inquiſition, which ſeemed of no great conſequence, they have made it to become a court abſolutely ſubject to them; for it being provided, that the inquiſitors ſhould do nothing but in the preſence of ſuch as ſhould be deputed by the ſenate to be the witneſſes of their proceedings,

ings, those deputies either will not come but when they think fit, or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence, or their withdrawing, dissolves the court; for a citation cannot be made, a witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of form carried on, if the deputies of the senate are not present. And thus it is, that though there is a court of inquisition at Venice, yet there is scarce any person brought into trouble by it; and there are many of the Protestant religion that live there without any trouble: and though there is a congregation of them there, that hath their exercises of religion very regularly, yet the senate gives them no trouble. It is true, the *hostie*'s not being carried about in procession, but secretly by the priest to the sick, makes that this uneasy discrimination of Protestant and Papist doth not offer itself here, as in other places; for the narrowness of the streets, and the channels through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in Venice, as it is elsewhere; and from Venice this rule is carried over their whole territory, though the like reason doth not hold in the terra firma. The Venetians are generally ignorant of the matters of religion to a scandal; and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are strangers to them. So that all that vast pomp in their ceremonies, and wealth in their churches, is affected rather as a point of magnificence, or a matter of emulation among families, than that superstition hath here such a power over the spirits of the people, as it hath elsewhere; for the Atheism that is received by many here, is the dullest and coarsest thing that can be imagined. The young nobility are so generally corrupted in their morals, and so given up to a most supine ignorance of all sorts of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagine to what a height this is grown: and

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for military courage, there is ſcarce ſo much as the ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater part of them. It ſeemed to me a ſtrange thing, to ſee the *broglio* ſo full of graceful young ſenators and nobles, when there was ſo glorious a war on foot with the Turks; but inſtead of being heated in point of honour to hazard their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of folly for them to go and hazard them, when a little money can hire ſtrangers that do it on ſuch eaſy terms: and thus their arms are in the hands of ſtrangers, while they ſtay at home managing their intrigues in the *broglio*, and diſſolving their ſpirits among their courtezans. And the reputation of their ſervice is of late years ſo much ſunk, that it is very ſtrange to ſee ſo many come to a ſervice ſo decried, where there is ſo little care had of the ſoldiers, and ſo little regard had to the officers. The arrears are ſo ſlowly paid, and the rewards are ſo ſcantily diſtributed, that if they do not change their maxims, they may come to feel this very ſenſibly; for as their ſubjects are not acquainted with warlike matters, ſo their nobility have no ſort of ambition that way; and ſtrangers are extremely diſguſted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of affairs that they owe their ſafety: for the feebleneſs of all their neighbours, the Turk, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Pope, and the Duke of Mantua, preſerves them from the apprehenſion of an invaſion, and the quarrels and degeneracy of their ſubjects ſave them from the fears of a revolt; but a formidable neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occaſion of the degeneracy of the Italians, and in particular of the Venetian nobility, is a maxim that hath been taken up for ſome conſiderable time, *That for the preſervation of their families, it is fit that only one of a family ſhould marry.* To which I will not add, that it is generally be-

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lieved, that the wife is in common to the whole family. By this means the younger brothers, that have appointments for life, and that have no families that come from them, are not ſtirred up by any ambition to ſignalize themſelves, or to make families, and ſo they give way to all the lazineſs of luxury, and are quite enervated by it: whereas the beſt ſervices done in other ſtates, flow from the neceſſities, as well as the aſpirings of younger brothers, or their families; whoſe blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their pride and neceſſities puſh them on to acquire, firſt a reputation, and then a fortune. But all this is a myſtery to the Venetians; who apprehend ſo much from the active ſpirits of a neceſſitous nobility, that, to lay thoſe aſleep, they encourage them in all thoſe things that may blunt and depreſs their minds: and youth naturally hates letters as much as it loves pleaſure, when it is ſo far from being reſtrained, that it is rather puſhed on to all the licentiouſneſs of unlimited diſorders.

Yet I muſt add one thing, that though Venice is the place in the whole world where pleaſure is moſt ſtudied, and where the youth have both the greateſt wealth, and the moſt leiſure to purſue it; yet it is the place that I ever ſaw, where true and innocent pleaſure is the leaſt underſtood. In which I will make a little digreſſion, that perhaps will not be unpleaſant. As for the pleaſures of friendſhip, or marriage, they are ſtrangers to them; for the horrible diſtruſt, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a friend in Italy, but moſt of all in Venice. And though we have been told of ſeveral ſtories of celebrated friendſhips there, yet theſe are now very rare. As for their wives, they are bred to ſo much ignorance, and they converſe ſo little, that they know nothing but the dull ſuperſtition on holidays; in which they ſtay in the churches as long as they can,

can, and ſo prolong the little liberty they have of going abroad on thoſe days, as children do their hours of play. They are not employed in their domeſtic affairs, and generally they underſtand no ſort of work; ſo that I was told, they were the inſipideſt creatures imaginable. They are perhaps as vitious as in other places; but it is among them downright lewdneſs; for they are not drawn into it by the intanglements of amour, that inveigle and lead many perſons much farther than they imagined or intended at firſt; but in them the firſt ſtep, without any preamble or preparative, is downright beaſtlineſs. And an Italian, that knew the world well, ſaid upon this matter a very lively thing to me. He ſaid, *Their jealouſy made them reſtrain their daughters and their wives ſo much, that they could have none of thoſe domeſtic entertainments of wit, converſation, and friendſhip, that the French or Engliſh have at home.* It is true, thoſe, he ſaid, hazard a little the honour of their families by that liberty; but the Italians, by their exceſſive caution, made that they had none of the true delights of a married ſtate: and notwithſtanding all their uneaſy jealouſy, they were ſtill in danger of a contraband nobility. Therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain ſatisfaction, than to watch ſo anxiouſly, and thereby have an inſipid companion, inſtead of a lively friend, though ſhe might perhaps have ſome ill moments. As for their houſes, they have nothing convenient at Venice; for the architecture is almoſt all the ſame, one ſtair-caſe, a hall that runs along the body of the houſe, and chambers on both hands; but there are no apartments, no cloſets, or back-ſtairs: ſo that in houſes that are of an exceſſive wealth, they have yet no ſort of convenience. Their bedſteads are of iron, becauſe of the vermin that their moiſture produ-

ces. The bottoms are of boards; upon which they lay ſo many quilts, that it is a huge ſtep to get up to them. Their great chairs are all upright, without a ſlope in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the arms is not covered. They mix water with their wine in their hogſheads; ſo that, for above half the year, the wine is either dead or ſour. They do not leaven their bread, ſo that it is extreme heavy; and the oven is too much heated, ſo that the crumb is as dough, when the cruſt is as hard as a ſtone. In all inns they boil meat firſt before it is roaſted; and thus as indeed they make it tender, ſo it is quite taſteleſs and inſipid. And as for their land-carriage, all Lombardy over it is extreme inconvenient; for their coaches are faſtened to the pearch, which makes them as uneaſy as a cart. It is true, they begin to have at Rome and Naples, coaches that are faſtened to a ſort of double pearch, that runs along the bottom of the coach on both ſides; which are ſo thin, that they ply to the motion of the coach, and are extreme eaſy: but thoſe are not known in Lombardy. And beſides this, their calaſhes are open; ſo that one is expoſed to the ſun and duſt in ſummer, and to the weather in winter. But though they are covered as ours are on the other ſide of the Apennines, yet I ſaw none that were covered in Lombardy. And thus, by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleaſures and conveniencies of life, it appears, that the Venetians purſue ſo violently forbidden pleaſures, that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their conſtant practices in the *broglio* are their chief buſineſs; where thoſe that are neceſſitous are ſuing for employments of advantage, and thoſe that are full of wealth take a ſort of pleaſure in croſſing their pretenſions, and in imbroiling matters. The walk in which the nobility tread, is left to them,

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for no others dare walk among them; and they change the ſide of the ſquare of St Mark, as the ſun and the weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr Patin gave me of *broglio*, from the Greek *peribolaion*, a little corrupted, is not forced. And ſince they make all their parties, and manage all their intrigues in thoſe walks, I am apt to think that *broils*, *brouillons*, and *imbroilments*, are all derived from the agitations that are managed in thoſe walks.

As for the laſt created nobility of Venice, I came to know ſome particulars that I have not yet ſeen in any books, which I ſuppoſe will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the Venetians could have foreſeen, at the beginning of the war of Candy, the vaſt expence in which the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the iſle, rather than have waſted their treaſure, and debaſed their nobility. This laſt was extreme ſenſible to them: for as the dignity of the rank they hold is ſo much the more eminent, as it is reſtrained to a ſmall number; ſo all the beſt employments and honours of the ſtate belonging to this body, the admitting ſuch a number into it, as muſt riſe out of ſeventy-eight families, was, in effect, the ſharing their inheritance among ſo many adopted brothers. This had been leſs infamous, if they had communicated that honour only to the ancient citizens of Venice, or to the nobility of thoſe ſtates that they have ſubdued in the terra firma: for as there are many citizens, who are as ancient as the nobility, only their anceſtors not happening to be of that council that aſſumed the government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raiſed to that honour; ſo there had been no infamy in creating ſome of them to be of the nobility. It had been alſo brought under conſultation long ago, upon the reduction of thoſe

ſtates in the terra firma, whether it was not adviſable, according to the maxims of the ancient Romans, to communicate that dignity to ſome of their chief families, as being the ſureſt way to give ſome contentment to thoſe ſtates, it being alſo a real as well as a cheap ſecurity, when the chief families in thoſe cities were admitted to a ſhare in all the honours of the republic. It is true, ſome of the nobility of thoſe ſtates thought they had honour enough by their birth; and ſo Zambara of Breſcia refuſed to accept an honour from thoſe that had robbed his country of its liberty: yet his poſterity are now of another mind; for they came, and bought, in this laſt ſale of honour, that which was freely offered to their anceſtor, and was rejected by him. When the ſenate found itſelf extremely preſſed for money during the war, it was at firſt propoſed, that ſome families, to the number of five, might be ennobled, they offering ſixty thouſand ducats if they were Venetians, and ſeventy thouſand if they were ſtrangers. There was but one perſon that oppoſed this in the ſenate; ſo it being paſſed there, was preſented to the great council: and there it was like to have paſſed without any difficulty: but one perſon oppoſed it with ſo much vigour, that though the Duke deſired him to give over his oppoſition, ſince the neceſſities of the war required a great ſupply, yet he perſiſted ſtill; and though one of the *Savii* ſet forth with tears the extremities to which the ſtate was reduced, he ſtill inſiſted, and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole council. He ſaid, they were not ſure, if five perſons could be found, that would purchaſe that honour at ſuch a rate, and then it would be a vaſt diſgrace to expoſe the offer of nobility, firſt to ſale, and then to the affront of finding no buyers when it was offered to be ſold: and by this means he put by the reſolution for that time. But then another

another method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended conſequence. Labia was the firſt that preſented a petition to the great council, ſetting forth his merits towards the republic, and deſiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thouſand ducats toward the ſervice of the ſtate. This was underſtood to be aſking to be made noble at that price. Delfino ſaid, he thought every man might be well judged worthy to offer ſuch an aſſiſtance to the public; and that ſuch as brought that ſupply might expect a ſuitable acknowledgment from the ſenate, who might afterwards, of their own accord, beſtow that honour on thoſe that expreſſed ſo much zeal for the public; and this would, in ſome ſort, maintain that degree, which would be too much debaſed, if it were thus bought and ſold. But it ſeems the purchaſers had no mind to part with their money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the council; ſo the petition was granted in plain terms, and the nobility ſo acquired was not only to deſcend to the children of him that was ennobled, but to his brothers, and the whole family, to ſuch a degree. After Labia, a great many more came with the like petitions; and it was not unpleaſant to ſee in what terms merchants, that came to buy this honour, ſet forth their own merits; which were, that they had taken care to furniſh the republic with ſuch things as were neceſſary for its preſervation. There was a ſort of a *triumvirate* formed, of a Jew, a Greek, and an Italian, who were the brokers, and found out the merchants, and at laſt brought down the price from a hundred thouſand to ſixty thouſand ducats; and no other qualifications were required, if they had money enough. For when Correge ſaid to the Duke, that he was afraid to aſk that honour for want of merit, the Duke aſked him, *If he had a hundred thouſand*

ducats? and when the other answered, *The sum was ready*, the Duke told him, *That was a great merit*. At last seventy-eight purchased this honour, to the great regret of Labia; who said, that if he had imagined, that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it, that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the purchasers were ancient and noble families; but many others were not only merchants, but of the lowest sort of them; who, as they had enriched themselves by trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an honour, that as it obliged them to give over their trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to balance that loss; for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded, when they compete with the ancient nobility: though this is done with that discretion, that the old families do not declare always against the new; for that would throw the new into a faction against them, which might be a great prejudice to them; for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the republic feels by this great promotion, is, that the chief families of the citizens of Venice, who had been long practised in the affairs of state, and out of whom the envoys, the secretaries of state, and the Chancellor, that is the head of the citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief honour of the state, there is not now a sufficient number of capable citizens left for serving the state in those employments. But this defect will be redressed with the help of a little time. But if this increase of the nobility hath lessened the dignity of the ancient families, there is a regulation made in this age, that still preserves a considerable distinction of authority

thority in their hands. Crimes againſt the ſtate, when committed by any of the nobility, were always judged by the inquiſitors, and the council of ten; but all other crimes were judged by the council of forty. But, in the year 1624, one of the nobles was accuſed of *peculat* committed in one of their governments; and the *avogadore*, in the pleading, as he ſet forth his crime, called him a *rogue* and a *robber*. Yet though his crimes were manifeſt, there being but ſix and twenty judges preſent, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him. This gave great offence; for though he was acquitted by his judges, his crimes were evident, ſo that his fame could not be reſtored; for the depoſitions of the witneſſes, and the *avogadore*'s (or the *attorney-general*'s) charge, were heard by the people. So it was propoſed to make a difference between the nobility and the other ſubjects; and ſince all trials before the forty were public, and the trials before the ten in ſecret, it ſeemed fit to remit the nobility to be tried by the ten. Some foreſaw that this would tend to a tyranny, and raiſe the dignity of the ancient families (of whom the council of ten is always compoſed) too high; therefore they oppoſed it upon this ground, that ſince the council of forty ſent out many orders to the governors, it would very much leſſen their authority, if they were not to be the judges of thoſe who were obliged to receive their orders. But, to qualify this oppoſition, a proviſo was made, that reſerved to the council of forty a power to judge of the obedience that was given to their orders; but all other accuſations of the nobility were remitted to the council of ten. And the body of the nobility were ſo pleaſed with this diſtinction that was put between them and the other ſubjects, that they did not ſee that this did really enſlave them ſo much the more, and brought them under more danger;

danger; ſince thoſe who judge in ſecret have a freer ſcope to their paſſions, than thoſe whoſe proceedings are public, and ſo are, in effect, judged by the public; which is often a very effectual reſtraint upon the judges themſelves. But the council of ten being generally in the hands of the great families; whereas thoſe of all ſorts are of the council of forty, which was the chief judicature of the ſtate, and is much ancienter than that of ten; it had been much more wiſely done of them, to have been ſtill judged by the forty. And if they had thought it for their honour to have a difference made in the way of judging the nobility and the other ſubjects, it had been more for their ſecurity to have brought their trials to this, that whereas the forty judge all other offenders with open doors, the nobility ſhould be judged, the doors being ſhut; which is a thing they very much deſire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it. For this power of judging the nobility is now conſidered as the right of the ten; and if any man would go about to change it, the inquiſitors would be perhaps very quick with him as a mover of ſedition; and be, in that caſe, both judge and party. Yet the inquiſitors, being apprehenſive of the diſtaſte that this might breed in the body of the nobility, have made a ſort of regulation, though it doth not amount to much; which is, that the nobility ſhould be judged before the council of ten for atrocious caſes; ſuch as, matters of ſtate, robbing the public, and other enormous crimes; but that for all other matters they are to be judged by the forty: yet the council of ten draws all caſes before them, and none dare diſpute with them.

But this leads me to ſay a little to you of that part of this conſtitution which is ſo much cenſured by ſtrangers, but is really both the greateſt glory, and the chief ſecurity of this republic; which is,

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The unlimited power of the inquiſitors, that extends not only to the chief of the nobility, but to the Duke himſelf; who is ſo ſubject to them, that they may not only give him ſevere reprimands, but ſearch his papers, make his proceſs, and, in concluſion, put him to death, without being bound to give an account of their proceedings, except to the council of ten. This is the dread, not only of all the ſubjects, but of the whole nobility, and of all that bear office in the republic, and makes the greateſt among them tremble, and ſo obliges them to an exact conduct. But though it is not to be denied, that, upon ſome occaſions, they may have been a little too ſudden, particularly in the known ſtory of Foſcarini; yet ſuch unjuſtifiable ſeverities have occurred ſo ſeldom, that as the wiſdom of this body in making and preſerving ſuch an inſtitution, cannot be enough admired; ſo the dexterous conduct of thoſe who manage this vaſt truſt, ſo as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewiſe highly to be wondered at. In ſhort, the inſolence, the factions, the revenges, the neceſſities and ambition, that muſt needs poſſeſs a great many members of ſo vaſt a body, as is the nobility of Venice, muſt have thrown them often into many fatal convulſions, if it were not for the dread in which they all ſtand of this court, which hath ſo many ſpies abroad, chiefly among the Gondaliers, who cannot fail to diſcover all the ſecret commerce of Venice: beſides the ſecret advices that are thrown in at ſo many of thoſe lions mouths, that are in ſeveral places of St Mark's palace, within which there are boxes that are under the keys of the inquiſitors; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for a man to be long in any deſign againſt the ſtate, and not to be diſcovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are ſo inexorable, and ſo quick, as well as ſevere in their juſtice, that

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the very fear of this is ſo effectual a reſtraint, that perhaps the long preſervation of Venice, and of its liberty, is owing to this ſingle piece of their conſtitution. And the inquiſitors are perſons generally ſo diſtinguiſhed for their merit, who muſt be all of different families, and their authority laſts ſo ſhort a while, that the advantages of this vaſt authority that is lodged with them are conſtant and viſible; whereas the unhappy inſtances of their being impoſed on, and carrying their ſuſpicions too far, are ſo few, that whenever the nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the glory and proſperity of Venice at an end. It was terribly attacked not long ago by Cornaro, when Jerom Cornaro was put to death for his correſpondence with Spain. He was not near a-kin to the great family of that name; yet the family thought their honour was ſo much touched, when one of its remoteſt branches was condemned of treaſon, that they offered a hundred thouſand crowns to have ſaved him, and by conſequence to have preſerved the family from that infamy. But though this was not accepted, (for he ſuffered as he well deſerved), yet it was ſo viſible, that none of the family were concerned in his crimes, that it did not at all turn to their prejudice. But upon the firſt occaſion that offered itſelf after that to quarrel with the proceedings of the inquiſitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extremely, and moved for the limiting of their authority. But the great council was wiſer than to touch ſo ſacred a part of the government; ſo they retain their power very entire, but they manage it with all poſſible caution. A foreigner, that hath been many years in their ſervice, told me, that the ſtories with which ſtrangers were frighted at the arbitrary power that was veſted in thoſe inquiſitors, were ſlight things in compariſon of

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the advantages that they found from it; and, after eleven years ſpent in their ſervice, he ſaid, he never was ſo much as once ſent for to receive a reprimand from them. And if the nobility, that have any commerce with ſtrangers, confeſs it ſincerely to the inquiſitors, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main circumſtances of it, their proceſs will be ſoon diſpatched. Theſe are the moſt remarkable things that I could pick up during my ſtay at Venice. I have avoided to ſay any thing relating to their ſeveral councils, officers, and judicatures, or to the other parts of their government which are to be found in all books; and the forms by which they give their votes by ballot, are ſo well known, that it were an abuſing of your time to enlarge myſelf concerning them. Nor was I ſufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the ſale of nobility that is now on foot ſince this laſt war with the Turks, which hath made them willing to take up once again this eaſy way of raiſing money. Nor could I give credit to that of which a perſon of great eminence there aſſured me, that there was a *poiſoner-general* in Venice, that had a ſalary, and was employed by the inquiſitors to diſpatch thoſe againſt whom a public proceeding would make too great a noiſe. This I could not believe, though my author proteſted, that the brother of one that was ſolicited to accept of the employment diſcovered it to him. There is no place in the world where ſtrangers live with more freedom; and I was amazed to ſee ſo little exactneſs among the ſearchers of the cuſtomhouſe: for though we had a mule's load of trunks and portmanteaus, yet none offered to aſk us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us? But the beſt and nobleſt entertainment that Venice afforded while I was there, was the company of Mr de la Haye, the French Ambaſſador; who, as he hath

hath ſpent his whole life in public embaſſies, ſo he hath acquired ſo great a knowledge of the world, with ſo true a judgment, and ſo obliging a civility, that he may well paſs for a pattern: and it is no wonder to ſee him ſtill engaged in a conſtant ſucceſſion of public employments. And his lady is ſo wonderful a perſon, that I pay them both but a very ſmall part of what I owe them in this acknowledgment which I judge myſelf bound to make of their extraordinary civilities to me; and indeed, without the advantage of ſuch a rendezvous as I had there, a fortnight's ſtay at Venice had been a very tedious matter.

From Venice we went again to Padua, from thence to Rovigo, which is but a ſmall town, and ſo to the Po, which divides the territory of the republic from the Ferrareſe, which is now the Pope's country. And here one ſees what a difference a good and a bad government makes in a country: for though the ſoil is the ſame on both ſides of the river, and the Ferrareſe was once one of the beautifulleſt ſpots of all Italy, as Ferrara was one of its beſt towns, while they had princes of their own, who, for a courſe of ſome ages, were princes of ſuch eminent virtue, and of ſo heroical a nobleneſs, that they were really the fathers of their country; nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The ſoil is abandoned, and uncultivated; nor were there hands enough ſo much as to mow their graſs, which we ſaw withering in their meadows, to our no ſmall wonder. We were amazed to ſee ſo rich a ſoil thus forſaken of its inhabitants; and much more when we paſſed through that vaſt town, which, by its extent, ſhews what it was about an age ago, and is now ſo much deſerted, that there are whole ſides of ſtreets without inhabitants. And the poverty of the place appears ſignally in the churches, which are mean,

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and poorly adorned: for the ſuperſtition of Italy is ſo ravenous, and makes ſuch a progreſs in this age, that one may juſtly take the meaſures of the wealth of any place from the churches. The ſuperſtition or vanity of this age is ſo much beyond that of the paſt, (though the contrary to this is commonly believed), that all the vaſt buildings of great churches, or rich convents, and the ſurpriſing wealth that appears in them on feſtival days, are the donatives of the preſent age. So that it is a vulgar error that ſome have taken up, who fancy, that *ſuperſtition is at a ſtand, if not in a decay*; unleſs it be acknowledged, that the craft of the prieſts hath opened to them a new method to ſupport their riches, when the old ones of purgatory and indulgences were become leſs effectual, in an age of more knowledge, and better enlightened; and that is, to engage men to an emulation and a vanity in enriching their churches, as much as other Italians have in the enriching their palaces. So that, as they have a pleaſure as well as a vanity in ſeeing ſo much dead wealth in their houſes, they have tranſlated the ſame humour to their churches; and the vanity of the preſent age, that believes little or nothing of thoſe contrivances of purgatory, or the like, produceth the ſame, if not greater effects, in the building and enriching their churches, and ſo carries it in expence and prodigality from the ſuperſtition of the former ages that believed every thing. But to return to Ferrara. I could not but aſk all I ſaw, how it came that ſo rich a ſoil was ſo ſtrangely abandoned? Some ſaid, the air was become ſo unhealthy, that thoſe who ſtay in it were very ſhort-lived. But it is well known, that fourſcore years ago it was well peopled: and the ill air is occaſioned by the want of inhabitants; for there not being people to drain the ground, and to keep the ditches clean, this makes

that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground, and rots; which infects the air in the ſame manner, as is obſerved in that vaſt and rich, but uninhabited champaign of Rome. So that the ill air is the effect, rather than the cauſe of the diſpeopling of the Pope's dominions. The true cauſe is the ſeverity of the government, and the heavy taxes, and frequent confiſcations; by which the nephews of ſeveral Popes, as they have devoured many of the families of Ferrara, ſo they have driven away many more. And this appears more viſibly, by the different ſtate as well as conſtitution of Bologna, which is full of people that abound in wealth; and as the ſoil is extreme rich, ſo it is cultivated with all due care. For Bologna delivered itſelf to the popedom upon a capitulation, by which there are many privileges reſerved to it. Crimes there are only puniſhed in the perſons of thoſe who commit them; but there are no confiſcations of eſtates: and though the authority in criminal matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a legate and his officers; yet the civil government, the magiſtracy, and the power of judicature in civil matters, is entirely in the hands of the ſtate. And by this regulation it is, that as the riches of Bologna amaze a ſtranger, it neither being on a navigable river, by which it is not capable of much trade, nor being the centre of a ſovereignty, where a court is kept; ſo the taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are ſo conſiderable, that he draws much more from this place of liberty, than from thoſe where his authority is unlimited and abſolute, but that are by thoſe means almoſt quite abandoned: for the greatneſs of a prince or ſtate riſing from the numbers of the ſubjects, thoſe maxims that retain the ſubjects, and that draw ſtrangers to come among them, are certainly the trueſt maxims for advancing the greatneſs of

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the maſter. And I could not but with much ſcorn obſerve the folly of ſome Frenchmen, who made uſe of this argument to ſhew the greatneſs of their nation, that one found many Frenchmen in all places to which one could come; whereas there were no Engliſh nor Dutch, no Switzers, and very few Germans. But this is juſt contrary to the right conſequence that ought to be drawn from this obſervation; for it is certain, that few leave their country, and go to ſettle elſewhere, if they are not preſſed with ſo much uneaſineſs at home, that they cannot well live among their friends and kindred: ſo that a mild government drives out no ſwarms; whereas it is the ſure mark of a ſevere government that weakens itſelf, when many of the ſubjects find it ſo hard to ſubſiſt at home, that they are forced to ſeek that abroad which they would much rather do in their own country, if impoſitions and other ſeverities did not force them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of Bologna, it appears in every corner of the town, and all round it, though its ſituation is not very favourable; for it lies at the foot of the Appennines, on the north ſide, and is extreme cold in winter. The houſes are built as at Padua and Bern, ſo that one walks all the town over covered under piazzas; but the walks here are both higher and larger than any where elſe. There are many noble palaces all over the town, and the churches and convents are incredibly rich. Within the town the richeſt are the Dominicans, which is the chief houſe of the order, where their founder's body is laid in one of the beſt chapels of Italy; and next to them are the Franciſcans, the Servites, the Jeſuits, and the canons regular of St Salvator. In this laſt there is a ſcroll of the Hebrew Bible, which, though it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the

whole Bible: and they were made believe by ſome Jew, that hath, no doubt, ſold it at a high rate, that it was written by Ezra's own hand; and this hath paſſed long for current. But the manuſcript is only a fine copy, like thoſe that the Jews uſe in their ſynagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hundred years old. That part of it on which I caſt my eye, was the book of Eſther: ſo by the bulk of the ſcroll, I judged it to be the collection of thoſe ſmall books of the Old Teſtament that the Jews ſet after the law. But thoſe of the houſe fancy they have a great treaſure in it; and perhaps ſuch Jews as have ſeen it, are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and ſo ſuffer them to go on in their error. The chief church of the town is St Petrone's, and there one ſees the curious and exact meridional line, which that rare aſtronomer Caſſini laid along a great part of the pavement in a braſs circle. It marks the true point of mid-day from June to January, and is one of the beſt performances that perhaps the world ever ſaw. In the great ſquare before the church, on the one ſide of which is the legate's palace, among other ſtatues, one ſurpriſed me much; it was Pope Joan's, which is ſo named by the people of the town. It is true, the learned men ſay, it is the ſtatue of Pope Nicholas IV. who had indeed a youthly and womaniſh face. But as I looked at this ſtatue very attentively, through a little perſpective that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the face of a young woman; and was very unlike that of Pope Nicholas IV. which is in St Maria Maggiore at Rome: for the ſtatue of that Pope, though it hath no beard, yet hath an age in it that is very much different from the ſtatue at Bologna. I do not build any thing on this ſtatue, for I do not believe that ſtory at all; and I myſelf ſaw in England a manuſcript of Martinus Polonus, who is one of the

ancient authors of this matter, which did not ſeem to be written long after the author's time; in it this ſtory is not in the text, but is added on the margin by another hand.

On the hill above Bologna ſtands the monaſtery of St Michael in boſco, which hath a moſt charming ſituation and proſpect, and is one of the beſt monaſteries in Italy. It hath many courts, and one that is cloiſtered, and is octangular; which is ſo nobly painted in freſco, that it is great pity to ſee ſuch work expoſed to the air. All was retouched by the famous Guido Reni; yet it is now again much decayed. The dormitory is very magnificent; the chapel is little, but very fine; and the ſtalls are richly carved. On the other ſide of Bologna, in the bottom, the Carthuſians have alſo a very rich monaſtery. Four miles from Bologna there is a Madona of St Luke's; and becauſe many go thither in great devotion, there is a portico building, which is already carried on almoſt half way. It is walled towards the north, but ſtands on pillars to the ſouth, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high. It is carried on very vigorouſly; for in eight or ten years the half is built; ſo that in a little time the whole will very probably be finiſhed: and this may prove the beginning of many ſuch like porticos in Italy; for things of this kind want only a beginning; and when they are once ſet on foot, they quickly ſpread themſelves in a country that is ſo entirely ſubdued by ſuperſtition, and the artifices of their prieſts. In Bologna they reckon there are ſeventy thouſand perſons. I ſaw not one of the chief glories of this place; for the famous Malpighius was out of town while I was there. I ſaw a play there; but the poeſy was ſo bad, the farces ſo rude, and all was ſo ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to ſee the company expreſs ſo great a ſatisfaction in that which would

have been hiſſed off the ſtage either in England or France. From Bologna we go eight miles in a plain, and then we engage into that range of hills that carry the name of *Appennines*; though that is ſtrictly given only to one that is the higheſt. All the way to Florence this track of hills continues, though there are ſeveral bottoms, and ſome conſiderable little towns in them; but all is up-hill and down-hill; and Florence itſelf is juſt at the bottom of the laſt hill. The highways all along theſe hills are kept in ſo very good caſe, that in few of the beſt-inhabited countries doth one find the highways ſo well maintained as in theſe forſaken mountains; but this is ſo great a paſſage, that all that are concerned in it find their account in the expence they lay out upon it. On the laſt of theſe hills, though in a little bottom, in the midſt of the hill, ſtands Pratolino, one of the Great Duke's palaces, where the retreat in ſummer muſt be very agreeable, for the air of thoſe mountains is extreme thin and pure. The gardens in Italy are made at a great coſt; the ſtatues and fountains are very rich and noble, the grounds are well laid out, and the walks are long and even: but as they have no gravel to give them thoſe firm and beautiful walks that we have in England, ſo the conſtant greenneſs of the box doth ſo much pleaſe them, that they preferring the ſight to the ſmell, have their gardens ſo high-ſcented by plots made with them, that there is no pleaſure to walk in them. They alſo lay their walks ſo between hedges, that one is much confined in them. I ſaw firſt in a garden at Vincenza, that which I found afterwards in many gardens in Italy, which was extreme convenient. There went a courſe of water round the walls. About a foot from the ground, is a channel of ſtone, that went along the ſide of the wall; and in this there were holes ſo made,

made, that a pipe of white iron or wood put to them, conveyed the water to ſuch plants as in a dry ſeaſon wanted watering; and a cock ſet the water a running in this courſe; ſo that without the trouble of carrying water, one perſon could eaſily manage the watering of a great garden. Florence is a beautiful and noble town, full of great palaces, rich churches, and ſtately convents. The ſtreets are paved, in imitation of the old Roman highways, with great ſtone, bigger than our common pavement-ſtone, but much thicker; which are ſo hollowed in their joinings to one another, that horſes find faſtening enough to their feet. There are many ſtatues and fountains in the ſtreets, ſo that in every corner one meets with many agreeable objects. I will not entertain you with a deſcription of the Great Duke's palace and gardens, or of the old palace, and the gallery that joins to it, and of the vaſt collection of pictures, ſtatues, cabinets, and other curioſities, that muſt needs amaze every one that ſees them. The plate, and in particular the gold plate, and the great coach, are all ſuch extraordinary things, that they would require a very copious deſcription, if that had not been done ſo often, that it were to very little purpoſe to copy what others have ſaid: and theſe things are ſo exactly ſeen by every traveller, that I can ſay nothing that is more particular of theſe ſubjects than you will find in the common itineraries of travellers. The great dome is a magnificent building; but the frontiſpiece to the great gate is not yet made. The *cupola* is, after St Peter's, the greateſt and higheſt that I ſaw in Italy. It is three hundred foot high, and of a vaſt compaſs; and the whole architecture of this fabric is very ſingular, as well as regular: only that which was intended to add to its beauty, leſſened it very much in my thoughts; for the walls, that are all of marble,

marble, being of white and black marble, laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a livery, and had not that air of nobleneſs which in my opinion becomes ſo glorious a fabric. The baptiſtery, that ſtands before it, was a noble Heathen temple. Its gates of braſs are the beſt of that ſort that are in the world. There are ſo many hiſtories ſo well repreſented in *bas reliefs*, in them, with ſo much exactneſs, the work is ſo natural, and yet ſo fine, that a curious man could find entertainment for many days, if he would examine the three gates of this temple with a critical exactneſs. The Annunciata, St Mark's, St Croce, and St Maria Novella, are churches of great beauty and vaſt riches; but the church and chapel of St Laurence exceeds them all, as much in the riches within, as it is inferior to them in the outſide; which is quite flayed, if I may ſo ſpeak, but on deſign to give it a rich outſide of marble. In a chapel within this church, the bodies of the Great Dukes lie depoſited, till the famous chapel is finiſhed. But I was much ſcandalized to ſee ſtatues with nudities here, which I do not remember to have ſeen any where elſe in churches. I will not offer at a deſcription of the glorious chapel; which as it is without doubt the richeſt piece of building that perhaps the world ever ſaw; ſo it goes on ſo ſlowly, that though there are many always at work, yet it doth not ſeem to advance proportionably to the number of hands that are employed in it. Among the ſtatues that are to be in it, there is one of the virgin, made by Michael Angelo, which repreſents her grief at the paſſion of her bleſſed Son, that hath the moſt life in it of all the ſtatues that I ever ſaw. But the famous library that belongs to this convent, took up more of my time than all the other curioſities of Florence; for here is a collection of many manuſcripts, moſt of them Greek, that were gathered together

together by Pope Clement VII. and given to his country. There are very few printed books mixed with them; and those books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as manuscripts. I saw some of Virgil's poems in old capitals. There is a manuscript in which some parts both of Tacitus and Apuleius are written; and in one place, one in a different hand had writ, that he had compared those manuscripts; and he adds a date to this in Olibrius's time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found some diphthongs in it cast into one letter; which surprised me; for I thought that way of writing had not been so ancient. But that which pleased me most was, that the library-keeper assured me, that one had lately found the famous epistle of St Chrysostom to Cesarius in Greek, in the end of a volume full of other things, and not among the manuscripts of that father's books, of which they have a great many. He thought he remembered well the place where the book stood; so we turned over all the books that stood near it, but I found it not. He promised to look it out for me, if I came back that way; but I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true, the famous Magliabecchi, who is the Great Duke's library-keeper, and is a person of most wonderful civility, and full of candour, as well as he is learned beyond imagination, assured me, that this could be no other than a mistake of the library-keeper's. He said, such a discovery could not have been made without making so much noise that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in Florence that either understood Greek, or that examined manuscripts; so that, he assured me, I could not build on what an ignorant library-keeper had told me; so I set down this matter as I found it, without building much on it. Florence

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is much ſunk from what it was, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thouſand ſouls in it; and the other ſtates, that were once great republics, ſuch as Siena and Piſa, while they retained their liberty, are now ſhrunk almoſt into nothing. It is certain, that all three together are now not ſo numerous as any one of them was two hundred years ago. Leghorn is full of people, and all round Florence there are a great many villages: but as one goes over Tuſcany, it appears ſo diſpeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a country that hath been a ſcene of ſo much action, and ſo many wars, now ſo forſaken and ſo poor, and that in many places the ſoil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it; and in other places where there are more people, they look ſo poor, and their houſes are ſuch miſerable ruins, that it is ſcarce accountable how there ſhould be ſo much poverty in ſo rich a country, which is all over full of beggars. And here the ſtyle of begging was a little altered from what I found it in Lombardy; for whereas there they begged for the ſake of St Anthony, here all begged for the ſouls that were in purgatory; and this was the ſtyle in all the other parts of Italy through which I paſſed. In ſhort, the diſpeopling of Tuſcany, and moſt of the principalities of Italy, but chiefly of the Pope's dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of Italy, ſeemed to flow from nothing but the ſeverity of the government, and the great decay of trade; for the greateſt trade of Italy being in ſilk, the vaſt importation of ſilks that the Eaſt-India companies bring into Europe hath quite ruined all thoſe that deal in this manufacture. Yet this is not the chief cauſe of the diſpeopling of thoſe rich countries. The ſeverity of the taxes is the true reaſon. Notwithſtanding all that decay of trade, the taxes are ſtill kept up. Beſide this, the

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vaſt wealth of the convents, where the only people of Italy are to be found, that live not only at their eaſe, but in great plenty and luxury, makes many forſake all ſort of induſtry, and ſeek for a retreat in one of thoſe ſeats of pleaſure; ſo that the people do not increaſe faſt enough to make a new race to come inſtead of thoſe whom a hard government drives away. It muſt needs ſurpriſe an inattentive traveller, to ſee not only the Venetian territory, which is indeed a rich country, but the bailiages of the Switzers, and the coaſt of Genoa, ſo full of people, when Tuſcany, the patrimony, and the kingdom of Naples, have ſo few inhabitants. In the coaſt of Genoa there is for many miles, as it were, a conſtant tract of towns and villages; and all thoſe are well peopled, though they have ſcarce any ſoil at all, lying under the mountains, that are very barren, and that expoſe them to a moſt uneaſy ſun; and that they lie upon a boiſterous ſea, that is almoſt always in a ſtorm, and that affords very few fiſh; and yet the gentleneſs of the government draws ſuch multitudes thither, and thoſe are ſo full of wealth, that money goes at 2 *per cent*. But, on the other hand, to balance this a little, ſo ſtrange and wild a thing is the nature of man, at leaſt of Italians, that I was told the worſt people of all Italy are the Genoeſe, and the moſt generally corrupted in their morals, as to all ſorts of vice: ſo that though a ſevere government and ſlavery are contrary to the nature of man, and to human ſociety, to juſtice and equity, and to that eſſential equality that nature hath made among men; yet, on the other hand, all men cannot bear that eaſe and liberty that become the human nature. The ſuperſtition of Italy, and the great waſte of wealth that one ſees in their churches, particularly thoſe prodigious maſſes of plate with which their altars are covered

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on holidays, doth also sink their trade extremely; for silver being in commerce what blood is in the body, when so much of that is dead, and circulates no more, it is no wonder if such an extravasation (if I may use so long and so hard a word) of silver occasions a great deadness in trade. I had almost forgot one remark that I made on the last hill of the Appennines, just above Florence, that I never saw such tall and big cypresses any where, as grew all over that hill; which seemed a little strange, that tree being apt to be starved by a cold winter among us; and there the winters are severe. All the ways in Tuscany are very rugged, except on the sides of the Arne. But the uneasiness of the road is much qualified by the great care that is had of the highways, which are all in very good case. The inns are wretched, and ill furnished both for lodging and diet. This is the plague of all Italy, when once one has passed the Apennines; for, except in the great towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the pleasure of travelling is much abated by the inconveniences that one meets in every stage through which he passes. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

Florence, Nov. 5. 1685.

LETTER IV.

I AM now in the last stage of my voyage over Italy: for since my last from Florence, I have not only got to Rome, but have been in Naples; and have now satisfied my curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to Civita Vecchia, and from thence by sea to Marseilles,

Marſeilles, and ſo avoid an unpleaſant winter's journey over the Alps. It is true, I loſe the ſight of Turin, Genoa, and ſome other courts. But though I am told theſe deſerve well the pains of the journey; yet when one riſes from a great meal, no delicacies, how much ſoever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his appetite. So I confeſs freely, that the ſight of Naples and Rome have ſo ſet my ſtomach that way, that the curioſity of ſeeing new places is now very low with me. And indeed thoſe that I have of late ſeen are ſuch, that places which at another time would pleaſe me much, would now make but a ſlight and cold impreſſion.

All the way from Florence through the Great Duke's country looked ſo ſad, that I concluded it muſt be the moſt diſpeopled of all Italy. But indeed I changed my note when I came into the Pope's territories at Pont Centino, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not ſo much as ſtocked with cattle. But as I paſſed from Mont Fiaſcone to Viterbo, this appeared yet more amazing; for a vaſt champain country lay almoſt quite deſerted; and that wide town, which is of ſo great a compaſs, hath yet ſo few inhabitants, and thoſe look ſo poor and miſerable, that the people in the ordinary towns of Scotland, and in its worſt places, make a better appearance. When I was within a day's journey of Rome, I fancied that the neighbourhood of ſo great a city muſt mend the matter. But I was much diſappointed; for a ſoil that was ſo rich, and lay ſo ſweetly, that it far exceeded any thing I ever ſaw out of Italy, had neither inhabitants in it, nor cattle upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear. The ſurpriſe that this gave me, increaſed upon me as I went out of Rome on its other ſide, chiefly all the way to Naples, and on the way to Civita Vecchia: for

that vaſt and rich champaign country that runs all along to Terracina, which from Civita Vecchia is above a hundred miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty miles broad, is abandoned to ſuch a degree, that as far as one's eye can carry one, there is often not ſo much as a houſe to be ſeen, but on the hills that are on the north ſide of this valley. And by this diſpeopling of the country, the air is now become ſo unwholſome, that it is not ſafe to be a night in it all the ſummer long: for the water that lies upon many places not being drained, it rots; and in the ſummer this produces ſo many noiſome ſteams, that it is felt even in Rome itſelf; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the mountains, the air would be intolerable. When one ſees all this large, but waſte country, from the hill of Marino, twelve miles beyond Rome, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word, it is the rigour of the government that hath driven away the inhabitants: and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to ſuch a paſs, that it is hardly poſſible to repeople it; for ſuch as would come to drain and cultivate it muſt run a great hazard; and few can reſolve on that, when they can hope for no other reward of their induſtry, but an uneaſy government. It is the greateſt ſoleciſm in government, for the prince to be elective, and yet abſolute: for an hereditary prince is induced to conſider his poſterity, and to maintain his people ſo, that thoſe that come after him may ſtill ſupport the rank which they hold in the world. But an elective prince hath nothing of that in his eye, unleſs he hath a pitch of generoſity which is not ordinary among men, and leaſt of all among Italians, who have a paſſion for their families which is not known in other places. And thus a Pope, who comes in late to this dignity, which by conſequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally

naturally turn to thoſe counſels, by which his family may make all the hay they can during this ſunſhine. And though anciently the Cardinals were a check upon the Pope, and a ſort of a council, without whom he could do nothing even in temporals; yet now they have quite loſt that; and they have no other ſhare in affairs than that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them; ſo that he is the moſt abſolute prince in Europe. It is true, as to ſpirituals they retain ſtill a large ſhare; ſo that in cenſures and definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly without their concurrence; though it is certain, that they have not ſo good a title to pretend to that, as to a ſhare in the temporal principality: for if the Pope derives any thing from St Peter, all *that* is ſingly in himſelf, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks beſt; ſince the infallibility, according to their pretenſions, reſts ſingly in him. Yet becauſe there was not ſo much to be got by acting arbitrarily in thoſe matters, and a ſummary way of exerciſing this authority might have tempted the world to have inquired too much into the grounds on which it is built; therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain ſtill a ſhare in this ſupremacy over the church, though they have no claim to it, neither by any divine or eccleſiaſtical warrants. But as for the endowments of the ſee of Rome, to which they may juſtly lay claim, as being in a manner the chapter of that ſee; there is ſo much to be got by this, that the Popes have ingroſſed it wholly to themſelves. And thus it is, that the government of this principality is very unſteady. Sometimes the Pope's family are extremely glorious and magnificent; at other times they think of nothing but of eſtabliſhing their houſe. Sometimes the Pope is a man of ſenſe himſelf; ſometimes he is quite ſunk, and, as the laſt Pope was, becomes a child

again through old age. Sometimes he hath a particular ſtiffneſs of temper, with a great ſlowneſs of underſtanding, and an inſatiable deſire of heaping up wealth; which is the character of him that now reigns. By this diverſity, which appears eminently in every new pontificate, that commonly avoids thoſe exceſſes that made the former reign odious, the counſels of the popedom are weak and diſjointed. But if this is ſenſible to all Europe, with relation to the general concerns of that body, it is much more viſible in the principality itſelf, that is ſubject to ſo variable a head. There hath been in this age a ſucceſſion of four ravenous reigns: and though there was a ſhort interruption in the reign of the Roſpigliosi, that coming after the Barberini, the Pamphili, and the Ghigis, did not enrich itſelf; and yet it diſordered the revenue by the vaſt magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty-nine months time, than any other had done in ſo many years. The Altieri did in a moſt ſcandalous manner raiſe themſelves in a very ſhort and deſpiſed reign, and built one of the nobleſt palaces in Rome. He that reigns now doth not indeed raiſe his family avowedly, but he doth not eaſe the people of their taxes; and as there is no magnificence in his court, nor any public buildings now carrying on at Rome, ſo the many vacant caps occaſion many empty palaces. And by this means there is ſo little expence now made at Rome, that it is not poſſible for the people to live, and pay the taxes; which hath driven, as is believed, almoſt a fourth part of the inhabitants out of Rome during this pontificate. And as the pre-emption of the corn makes, that there is no profit made by the owners out of the cultivation of the ſoil, all that going wholly to the Pope; ſo there are no ways left here of employing one's money to any conſiderable advantage; for the public banks, which are all in the Pope's hand, do not pay in effect 3 *per cent.*

cent. though they pretend to give 4 *per cent.* intereſt. The ſettlement is indeed 4 *per cent.*; and this was thought ſo great an advantage, that actions on the Pope's bank were bought at 116 *per cent.* But this Pope broke through all this; and declared he would give all men their money again, unleſs they would pay 30 *per cent.* for the continuing of this intereſt. And thus for an hundred crowns principal, one not only paid at firſt an hundred and ſixteen, but afterwards thirty; in all, an hundred and forty-ſix for the hundred; which is almoſt the half loſt; for whenſoever the Pope will pay back their money, all the reſt is loſt. And while I am here, there is a report, that the Pope is treating with the Genoeſe for money at 2 *per cent.*; and, if he gets it on thoſe terms, he will then pay his debts; and the ſubjects that have put in money in this bank, will by this means loſe 46 *per cent.* which is almoſt the half of their ſtock. A man of quality at Rome, and an eminent churchman, who took me likewiſe for one of their clergy, becauſe I wore the habit of a churchman, ſaid, that it was a horrible ſcandal to the whole Chriſtian world, and made one doubt of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, to ſee more oppreſſion and cruelty in their territory, than was to be found even in Turky; though it being in the hands of Chriſt's vicar, one ſhould expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle government. And how (ſaid he) can a man expect to find his religion here, where the common maxims of juſtice and mercy were not ſo much as known? And I can never forget the lively reflection that a Roman prince made to me upon the folly of all thoſe ſevere oppreſſions; which as they drive away the inhabitants, ſo they reduce thoſe that are left to ſuch a degeneracy of ſpirit by their neceſſities, that the Spaniards, whoſe dominions look ſo big in the

map, are now brought so low; and if they had kept still the possession they once had of the United Netherlands, they would signify no more towards their preservation, than their other provinces did; which, by their unskilful conduct, they have both dispeopled and exhausted: whereas, by their losing those seven provinces, those states have fallen upon such wise notions of government, and have drawn so much wealth, and such numbers of people together, that Spain itself was now preserved by them, and was saved in this age by the loss it made of those provinces in the last; and those states, that if they had remained subject to Spain, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably, by being allies, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their yoke.

Indeed, if Spain had been so happy as to have such viceroys and governors as it has now in Naples, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The Marquis of Carpy, in his youth, intended to have taken so severe a revenge of an injury that he thought the late King of Spain did him in an amour, that he designed the blowing him up by gun-powder, when he was in the council-chamber. But that crime was discovered in time; and was not only forgiven him, in consideration of the greatness of his family, he being the son of Don Lewis de Haro, but after that he was made for several years ambassador at Rome. He is now Viceroy of Naples, and is the only governor of all the places through which I passed, that is, without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of people; for, during the few years of his ministry, he hath redressed such abuses as seemed past cure, and that required an age to correct them. He hath repressed the insolence of the Spaniards so much at Naples, that the natives have

no occaſion to complain of the haughtineſs of their maſters; for he proceeds againſt the Spaniards with no leſs ſeverity, when they give cauſe for it, than againſt the Neapolitans. He hath taken the pay of the ſoldiers ſo immediately into his own care, that they who, before his coming, were half naked, and robbed ſuch as paſſed on the ſtreets of Naples in day-light, are now exactly paid, well diſciplined, and ſo decently clothed, that it is a pleaſure to ſee them. He examines their muſters alſo ſo exactly, that he is ſure not to be cheated by falſe liſts. He hath brought the markets and weights of Naples to a true exactneſs. And whereas the bread was generally too light, he has ſent for loaves out of the ſeveral places of the markets, and weighed them himſelf; and, by ſome ſevere puniſhments on thoſe that ſold the bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a juſt regulation. He hath alſo brought the courts of judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to reputation again; and it is believed he hath ſpies to watch, in caſe the trade of bribes is ſtill found to be ſtill going on. He hath fortified the palace, which was before his time ſo much expoſed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a deſcent upon it. But the two things that raiſe his reputation moſt, are, his extirpating of the *banditti*, and the regulation of the coin, which he hath taken in hand. It is well known what a plague the *banditti* have been to the kingdom; for they going in troops, not only robbed the country, but were able to reſiſt an ordinary body of ſoldiers, if they had ſet on them. Theſe travelled about ſeeking for ſpoil all the ſummer long; but in winter they were harboured by ſome of the Neapolitan barons, who gave them quarters, and thereby did not only protect their own lands, but had them as ſo many inſtruments ready to execute

their revenges on their enemies. This was well known at Naples, and there was a council that had the care of the reducing the *banditti* committed to them; who, as they catched ſome few, and hanged them, ſo they fined ſuch barons as gave them harbour; and it was believed, that thoſe fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns a-year. And thus the diſeaſe went on; only now and then there was a little blood let, which never went to the bottom of the diſtemper. But when the preſent Viceroy entered upon the government, he reſolved to extirpate all the banditti; and he firſt let all the barons underſtand, that if they harboured them any more, a little fine would not ſave them, but that he would proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity; and by this means the banditti could find no winter-quarters. So they betook themſelves to ſome faſtneſſes among the hills, and reſolved to make good the paſſes, and to accommodate themſelves the beſt they could amidſt the mountains. The Viceroy ſent a great body againſt them; but they defended themſelves for ſome time vigorouſly, and in one ſally they killed five hundred men: but at laſt, ſeeing that they were like to be hard preſſed, and that the Viceroy intended to come againſt them in perſon, they accepted of the terms that he offered them; which were, a pardon for what was paſt, both as to life and gallies, and ſixpence a-day for their ſubſiſtence in priſon during life, or the Viceroy's pleaſure; and ſo they rendered themſelves. They are kept in a large priſon; and now and then, as he ſees cauſe for it, he ſends ſome few of them up and down to ſerve in garriſons. And thus, beyond all mens expectation, he finiſhed this matter in a very few months; and the kingdom of Naples, that hath been ſo long a ſcene of pillage and robbery, is now ſo much changed, that in no place

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of Europe do the ſubjects enjoy a more entire ſecurity. As for the coin, it, as all the other Spaniſh money, is ſo ſubject to clipping, that the whole money of Naples is now light, and far below the true value: ſo the Viceroy hath reſolved to redreſs this. He conſiders, that the crying down of money that paſſeth upon the public credit, is a robbing of thoſe in whoſe hands the money happens to be when ſuch proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear his ſhare, ſo that none will be cruſhed by it. He hath laid ſome taxes on the whole kingdom, and hath got a great many to bring in ſome plate to be coined: and when he hath thus prepared ſuch a quantity as may ſerve for the circulation that is neceſſary, he intends to call in all the old money, and to give out new money for it. Thus doth this Viceroy ſet ſuch a pattern to the other miniſters of the crown of Spain, that if many would follow it, the ſtate of their affairs would be ſoon altered.

The kingdom of Naples is the richeſt part of all Italy: for the very mountains, that are near the half of the ſoil, are fruitful, and produce either wine or oil in great abundance. Apulia is a great corn country, but it is exceſſive hot, and in ſome years all is burnt up. The Jeſuits are the proprietors of near the half of Apulia, and they treat their tenants with the ſame rigour that the barons of this kingdom do generally uſe towards their farmers. For the commons here are ſo miſerably oppreſſed, that in many places they die of hunger, even amidſt the great plenty of their beſt years; for the corn is exported to Spain; but neither the Spaniards nor the Neapolitans underſtand trade ſo well, as to be their own merchants or carriers; ſo that the Engliſh do generally carry away the profit of this trade. The oil of this kingdom is ſtill a

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vaſt trade, and the manufacture of the wool and ſoap of England conſumes yearly ſome thouſands of tuns. The ſilk trade is ſo low, that it only ſerves themſelves, but the exportation is inconſiderable. The ſloth and lazineſs of this people render them incapable of making thoſe advantages of ſo rich a ſoil, that a more induſtrious ſort of people would find out. For it amazes a ſtranger, to ſee in their little towns the whole men of the town walking in the market-places in their torn cloaks, and doing nothing. And though in ſome big towns, ſuch as Capua, there is but one inn; yet even that is ſo miſerable, that the beſt room and bed in it is ſo bad, that our footmen in England would make a grievous outcry if they were no better lodged. Nor is there any thing to be had in them; the wine is intolerable, the bread ill baked, no victuals, except pigeons, and the oil is rotten. In ſhort, except one carries his whole proviſion from Rome or Naples, he muſt reſolve to endure a good deal of miſery in the four days journey that is between thoſe two places. And this is what a traveller, that ſees the riches of the ſoil, cannot comprehend. But as they have not hands enough for their ſoil, ſo thoſe they have are generally ſo little employed, that it is no wonder to ſee their ſoil produce ſo little, that, in the midſt of all that abundance that Nature hath ſet before them, they are one of the pooreſt nations of Europe. But, beſide this which I have named, the vaſt and dead wealth that is in the hands of the churchmen, is another evident cauſe of their miſery. One that knew the ſtate of this kingdom well, aſſured me, that if it were divided into five parts, upon a ſtrict ſurvey, it would be found, that the churchmen had four parts of the five; which he made out thus. They have in ſoil above the half of the whole, which is two and a half; and in tithes,

tithes, and gifts, and legacies, they have one and a half more; for no man dieth without leaving a conſiderable legacy to ſome church or convent. The wealth that one ſees in the city of Naples alone paſſeth imagination. There are four and twenty houſes of the order of the Dominicans, of both ſexes, and two and twenty of the Franciſcans; ſeven of the Jeſuits, beſides the convents of the Olivatines, the Theatines, the Carmelites, the Benedictines; and above all, for ſituation and riches, the Carthuſians, on the top of the hill that lieth over the town. The riches of the Annunciata are prodigious; it is the greateſt hoſpital in the world; the revenue is ſaid to be four hundred thouſand crowns a-year. The number of the ſick is not ſo great as at Milan; yet one convenience for their ſick I obſerved in their galleries, which was conſiderable, that every bed ſtood as in an alcove, and had a wall on both ſides, ſeparating it from the beds on both hands, and as much void ſpace on both ſides of the bed, that the bed itſelf took up but half the room. The young children that they maintain are ſo many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boaſt of; for they talk of many thouſands that are not ſeen, but are at nurſe. A great part of the wealth of this houſe goeth to the enriching their church, which will be all over within cruſted with inlayings of lovely marble, in a great variety and beauty of colours. The plate that is in the treaſury here, and in the dome, (which is but a mean building, becauſe it is ancient, but hath a noble chapel, and a vaſt treaſure), and in a great many other churches, are ſo prodigious, that, upon the moſt modeſt eſtimate, the plate of the churches of Naples amounts to eight millions of crowns. The new church of the Jeſuits, that of St John the Apoſtle, and that of St Paul, are ſurpriſingly rich. The gilding and

painting

painting that is on the roofs of thoſe churches have coſt millions: and as there are about a hundred convents in Naples, ſo every one of theſe, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth ſeeing, though the riches of the greater convents here make many of them to be leſs viſited. Every year there is a new governor of the Annunciata, who perhaps puts in his own pocket twenty thouſand crowns; and, to make ſome compenſation, when he goeth out of office, he giveth a vaſt piece of plate to the houſe, a ſtatue for a ſaint in ſilver, or ſome coloſs of a candleſtick; for ſeveral of thoſe pieces of plate are ſaid to be worth ten thouſand crowns. And thus all the ſilver of Naples becomes dead and uſeleſs. The Jeſuits are great merchants here; their wine-cellar is a vaſt vault, and holds above a thouſand hogſheads, and the beſt wine of Naples is ſold by them: yet they do not retale it out ſo ſcandalouſly as the Minims do, who live on the great ſquare before the Viceroy's palace, and ſell out their wine by retale. They pay no duty, and have extraordinary good wine, and are in the beſt place of the town for this retale. It is true, the Neapolitans are no great drinkers; ſo the profits of this tavern are not ſo great as they would be in colder countries: for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are athirſt. Yet the houſe groweth extreme rich, and has one of the fineſt chapels that is in all Naples; but the trade ſeems very unbecoming men of that profeſſion, and of ſo ſtrict an order. The convents have a very particular privilege in this town; for they may buy all the houſes that lie on either ſide, till the firſt ſtreet that diſcontinueth the houſes; and there being ſcarce a ſtreet in Naples in which there is not a convent, by this means they may come to buy the whole town. And the progreſs that the wealth of the clergy

clergy makes in this kingdom is ſo viſible, that, if there is not ſome ſtop put to it, within an age they will make themſelves maſters of the whole kingdom. It is an amazing thing to ſee ſo profound an ignorance, as reigns among the clergy, prevail ſo effectually: for though all the ſecular perſons here ſpeak of them with all poſſible ſcorn, yet they are the maſters of the ſpirits of the people. The women are infinitely ſuperſtitious, and give their huſbands no reſt, but as they draw from them great preſents to the church. It is true, there are ſocieties of men at Naples, of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of Italy. The Greek learning begins to flouriſh there, and the new philoſophy is much ſtudied; and there is an aſſembly that is held in D. Joſeph Valeta's library, (where there is a vaſt collection of well-choſen books), compoſed of men that have a right taſte of true learning and good ſenſe. They are ill looked on by the clergy, and repreſented as a ſet of Atheiſts, and as the ſpawn of Pomponatius's ſchool. But I found no ſuch thing among them: for I had the honour to meet twice or thrice with a conſiderable number of them, during the ſhort ſtay that I made among them. There is a learned lawyer Franciſco Andria, that is conſidered as one of the moſt inquiſitive men of the aſſembly. There is alſo a grandchild of the great Alciat, who is very curious as well as learned. Few churchmen come into this attempt for the reviving of learning among them; on the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all things. Only one eminent preacher, Rinaldi, that is Archdeacon of Capua, aſſociates himſelf with them. He was once of the Jeſuits order, but left it; and as that alone ſerved to give a good character of him to me, ſo, upon a long converſation with him, I found a great many other things that poſſeſſed me with a high value for him.

Some phyſicians in Naples are brought under the ſcandal of Atheiſm; and it is certain, that, in Italy, men of ſearching underſtandings, who have no other idea of the Chriſtian religion, but that which they ſee received among them, are very naturally tempted to diſbelieve it quite: for they believing it all alike in groſs, without diſtinction, and finding ſuch notorious cheats as appear in many parts of their religion, are, upon that, induced to diſbelieve the whole. The preachings of the Monks in Naples are terrible things. I ſaw a Jeſuit go in a ſort of proceſſion, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he ſaw to follow him to a place where a mountebank was ſelling his medicines; near whom he took his room, and entertained the people with a ſort of a farce, till the mountebank got him to give over, fearing leſt his action ſhould grow tedious, and diſperſe the company that was brought together. There are no famous preachers, nor men of any reputation for learning among the Jeſuits. I was told they had not men capable to teach their ſchools, and that they were forced to hire ſtrangers. The order of the Oratory hath not that reputation in Italy that it hath gained in France; and the little learning that is among the clergy at Naples, is among ſome few ſecular prieſts.

The new method of Molinos doth ſo much prevail in Naples, that it is believed he hath above twenty thouſand followers in this city. And ſince this hath made ſome noiſe in the world, and yet is generally but little underſtood, I will give you ſome account of him. He is a Spaniſh prieſt, that ſeems to be but an ordinary divine, and is certainly a very ill reaſoner, when he undertakes to prove his opinions. He hath writ a book which is intitled, *Il guida ſpirituale*; which is a ſhort abſtract of the myſtical divinity. The ſubſtance of the

whole is reduced to this, *That in our prayers, and other devotions, the beſt methods are, to retire the mind from all groſs images, and ſo to form an act of faith, and thereby to preſent ourſelves before God; and then to ſink into a ſilence and ceſſation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and ſo to follow his conduct.* This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion; and he makes ſmall account of corporal auſterities, and reduces all the exerciſes of religion to this ſimplicity of mind. He thinks this is not only to be propoſed to ſuch as live in religious houſes, but even to ſecular perſons; and by this he hath propoſed a great reformation of mens minds and manners. He hath many prieſts in Italy, but chiefly in Naples, that diſpoſe thoſe who confeſs themſelves to them to follow his method. The Jeſuits have ſet themſelves much againſt this conduct, as foreſeeing that it may much weaken the empire that ſuperſtition hath over the minds of people; that it may make religion become a more plain and ſimple thing, and may alſo open a door to enthuſiaſms. They alſo pretend, that his conduct is factious and ſeditious; that this may breed a ſchiſm in the church. And becauſe he ſaith in ſome places of his book, *That the mind may riſe up to ſuch a ſimplicity in its acts, that it may riſe in ſome of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the humanity of Chriſt*; they have accuſed him as intending to lay aſide the doctrine of *Chriſt's humanity*; though it is plain that he ſpeaks only *of the purity of ſome ſingle acts.* Upon all thoſe heads they have ſet themſelves much againſt Molinos; and they have alſo pretended, that ſome of his diſciples have infuſed into their penitents, *That they may go and communicate, as they find themſelves diſpoſed, without going firſt to confeſſion*; which they thought weakened much the yoke by which the

prieſts ſubdue the conſciences of the people to their conduct. Yet he was much ſupported, both in the kingdom of Naples and in Sicily. He had alſo many friends and followers at Rome. So the Jeſuits, as a Provincial of the order aſſured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King, that is now extremely in the intereſts of their order, to interpoſe, and to repreſent to the Pope the danger of ſuch innovations. It is certain, the Pope underſtands the matter very little, and that he is poſſeſſed with a great opinion of Molinos's ſanctity; yet, upon the complaints of ſome Cardinals that ſeconded the zeal of that King, he and ſome of his followers were clapped in the inquiſition, where they have been now for ſome months: but they are ſtill well uſed; which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the Pope hath of him, who ſaith ſtill, that though he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good man. Upon this impriſonment Paſquin ſaid a pleaſant thing. In one week, one man had been condemned to the gallies for ſomewhat he had ſaid, another had been hanged for ſomewhat he had writ, and Molinos was clapped in priſon, whoſe doctrine conſiſted chiefly in this, *That men ought to bring their minds to a ſtate of inward quietneſs*; from which the name of *Quietiſts* was given to all his followers. The Paſquinade upon all this was, *Si parliamo, in galere; ſi ſcrivemmo, impiccati; ſi ſtiamo in quiete, all' fant' officio: e che biſogna fare?* "If we ſpeak, we "are ſent to the gallies; if we write, we are hang-"ed; if we ſtand quiet, we are clapped up in the "inquiſition; What muſt we do then?" Yet his followers at Naples are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this trial victorious.

The city of Naples, as it is the beſt ſituated, and in the beſt climate, ſo it is one of the nobleſt cities of Europe; and if it is not above half as big

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as Paris or London, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them. The ſtreets are large and broad, the pavement is great and noble, the ſtones being generally above a foot ſquare; and it is full of palaces and great buildings. The town is well ſupplied by daily markets, ſo that proviſions are ever freſh, and in great plenty. The wine is the beſt in Europe, and both the fiſh and fleſh are extreme good. It is ſcarce ever cold in winter; and there is a freſh air comes both from the ſea and the mountains in ſummer. The Viceroy's palace is no extraordinary building, only the ſtair-caſe is great; but it is now very richly furniſhed within in pictures and ſtatues. There are in it ſome ſtatues of the Egyptian deities, of touchſtone, that are of great value. There are no great antiquities here: only there is an ancient Roman portico that is very noble before St Paul's church. But without the city, near the church and hoſpital of St Gennaro that is without the gates, are the noble catacombs; which, becauſe they were beyond any thing I ſaw in Italy, and to which the catacombs of Rome are not to be compared; and ſince I do not find any account of them in all the books that I have yet ſeen concerning Naples, I ſhall deſcribe them more particularly.

They are vaſt and long galleries cut out of the rock; there are three ſtories of them, one above another. I was in two of them; but the rock is fallen in the loweſt, ſo that one cannot go into it; but I ſaw the paſſage to it. Theſe galleries are generally about twenty foot broad, and about fifteen foot high; ſo that they are noble and ſpacious places, and not little and narrow as the catacombs at Rome, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or ſix foot high. I was made believe, that theſe catacombs of Naples went into the rock nine miles long; but for that I have it only by re-

port: yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards Puzzuolo, and so they may have been the burial-places of the towns on that bay; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found galleries going off on all hands without end: and whereas, in the Roman catacombs, there are not above three or four rows of nitches that are cut out in the rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; here there are generally six or seven rows of those niches, and they are both larger and higher. Some niches are for childrens bodies; and in many places there are in the floors, as it were, great chests hewn out of the rock, to lay the bones of the dead, as they are dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes, which looked like the bellies of chests, or of a facing to shut up the niches when a dead body was laid in them: so that it seems they were monstrous, unwholsome, and stinking places, where some thousands of bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so lothsome a sight, and so odious a smell; for the niches shew plainly, that the bodies were laid in them only wrapped in the dead cloaths, they being too low for coffins. In some places of the rock there is, as it were, a little chapel hewn out in the rock, that goes off from the common gallery, and there are niches all round about; but I saw no marks of any wall that shut in such places; though I am apt to think these might be burying-places appropriated to particular families. There is in some places on the walls and arch old mosaic work, and some painting; the colours are fresh, and the manner and characters are Gothic; which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the Normans about six hundred years ago, after they drove out the Saracens. In some places there are palm-trees painted, and vines in other places: the freshness

freſhneſs of the colours ſhews theſe could not have been done while this place was employed for burying; for the ſteams and rottenneſs of the air, occaſioned by ſo much corruption, muſt have diſſolved both plaiſter and colours. In one place there is a man painted, with a little beard, and *Paulus* is written by his head; there is another reaching him a garland, and by his head *Laud* is written: and this is repeated in another place right over againſt it. In another place I found a croſs painted, and about the upper part of it theſe letters, I. C. X. O. and on the lower part N J K A are painted. A learned antiquary that went with me, agreed with me, that the manner of the painting and characters did not ſeem to be above ſix hundred years old; but neither of us knew what to make of theſe letters. The lower ſeemed to relate to the laſt word of the viſion, which it is ſaid that Conſtantine ſaw with the croſs that appeared to him: but though the firſt two letters might be for *Jeſus*, it being ordinary in old coins and inſcriptions to put a C for an S, and X ſtands for *Chriſt*; yet we knew not what to make of the O, unleſs it were for the Greek Θ; and that the little line in the boſom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it ſtands for *Theus*: and thus the whole inſcription is, *Jeſus Chriſt God overcometh*. Another picture in the wall had written over it *Sta Johannes*, which was a clear ſign of a barbarous age. In another place there is a picture high in the wall, and three pictures under it: that at top had no inſcription; thoſe below it had theſe inſcriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita*. Theſe letters are clearly modern; beſides that *Margaret* and *Katharine* are modern names; and the addition of *te* a little above the *S*, were manifeſt evidences that the higheſt antiquity that can be aſcribed to this painting is ſix hundred years. I ſaw no more

painting,

painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkneſs, and the thick air of the place; ſo I ſtaid not above an hour in the catacombs. This made me reflect more particularly on the catacombs of Rome than I had done. I could imagine no reaſon why ſo little mention is made of thoſe of Naples, when there is ſo much ſaid concerning thoſe of Rome; and could give myſelf no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxim to keep up the reputation of the Roman catacombs, as the repoſitories of the reliques of the primitive Chriſtians, it would have much leſſened their credit, if it had been thought that there were catacombs far beyond them in all reſpects, that yet cannot be ſuppoſed to have been the work of the primitive Chriſtians. And indeed nothing ſeems more evident, than that theſe were the common burying-places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the walls of the towns, according to the laws of the twelve tables; and ſuch are the catacombs of Rome that I ſaw, which were thoſe of St Agnes and St Sebaſtian, the entry into them being without the town. This anſwers the law, though in effect they run under it; for in thoſe days, when they had not the uſe of the needle, they could not know which way they carried on thoſe works, when they were once ſo far engaged under ground as to loſe themſelves. It is a vain imagination to think, that the Chriſtians in the primitive times were able to carry on ſuch a work: for as this prodigious digging into ſuch rocks muſt have been a very viſible thing, by the mountains of rubbiſh that muſt have been brought out, and by the vaſt number of hands that muſt have been employed in it; ſo it is abſurd to think, that they could hold their aſſemblies amidſt the annoyance of ſo much corruption. I found the ſteams ſo ſtrong, that though I am as little ſubject to vapours as moſt men, yet I had all

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the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confuſion, and as it were a boiling in my head, that diſordered me extremely; and if there is now ſo much ſtagnating air there, this muſt have been ſenſible in a more eminent and inſufferable manner while there were vaſt numbers of bodies rotting in thoſe niches. But, beſides this improbability that preſents itſelf from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a paſſage of a letter of Cornelius, that was Biſhop of Rome after the middle of the third century, which is preſerved by Euſebius in his ſixth book, chap. 43. in which we have the ſtate of the church of Rome at that time ſet forth. There were forty-ſix preſbyters, ſeven deacons, as many ſub-deacons, and ninety-four of the inferior orders of the clergy among them. There were alſo fifteen hundred widows, and other poor, maintained out of the public charities. It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the numbers of the Chriſtians were as great when this epiſtle was writ, as they were at any time before Conſtantine's days: for as this was writ at the end of that long peace, of which both St Cyprian and Lactantius ſpeak, that had continued above an hundred years; ſo, after this time, there was ſuch a ſucceſſion of perſecutions that came ſo thick one upon another, after ſhort intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Chriſtians increaſed much beyond what they were at this time. Now, there are two particulars in this ſtate of the clergy, upon which one may make a probable eſtimate of the numbers of the Chriſtians. The one is, their poor, which were but fifteen hundred. Now, upon an exact ſurvey, it will be found, that where the poor are well looked to, their number riſes generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the poor among the Chriſtians of that age; for as

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their charity was vigorous and tender, ſo we find Celſus, Julian, Lucian, Porphyry, and others, object this to the Chriſtians of that time, that their charities to the poor drew vaſt numbers of the lower ſort among them, who made themſelves Chriſtians, that they might be ſupplied by their brethren. So that this being the ſtate of the Chriſtians then, we may reckon the poor the thirtieth part; and ſo fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty produce five and forty thouſand. And I am the more inclined to think that this riſes near to the full ſum of their numbers, by the other character of the numbers of the clergy: for as there were forty-ſix preſbyters, ſo there were ninety-four of the inferior orders, who were two more than double the number of the prieſts: and this was in a time when the care of ſouls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted ages; the clergy having then really more work on their hands; the inſtructing their catechumens, the viſiting their ſick, and the ſupporting and comforting the weak, being taſks that required ſo much application, that, in ſo vaſt a city as Rome was in thoſe days, in which it is probable the Chriſtians were ſcattered over the city, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every preſbyter had perhaps about a thouſand ſouls committed to his care; ſo this riſes to ſix and forty thouſand, which comes very near the ſum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their poor. So that about fifty thouſand is the higheſt account to which we can reaſonably raiſe the numbers of the Chriſtians of Rome in that time; and of ſo many perſons, the old, the young, and the women, make more than three fourth parts; ſo that the men who were in condition to work were not above twelve thouſand, and by conſequence they were in no condition to

undertake

undertake and carry on ſo vaſt a work. If Cornelius in that letter ſpeaks of the numbers of the Chriſtians in exceſſive terms, and if Tertullian in his apology hath alſo ſet out the numbers of the Chriſtians of his time in a very high ſtrain, that is only to be aſcribed to a pompous eloquence, which diſpoſeth people to magnify their own party; and we muſt allow a good deal to an hyperbole, that is very natural to all that ſet forth their forces in general terms. It is true, it is not ſo clear when thoſe vaſt cavities were dug out of the rocks. We know, that when the laws of the twelve tables were made, ſepulture was then in uſe; and Rome being then grown to a vaſt bigneſs, no doubt they had repoſitories for their dead: ſo that, ſince none of the Roman authors mention any ſuch work, it may not be unreaſonable to imagine, that theſe vaults had been wrought and cut out from the firſt beginnings of the city, and ſo the later authors had no occaſion to take notice of it. It is alſo certain, that though burning came to be in uſe among the Romans, yet they returned back to their firſt cuſtom of burying bodies long before Conſtantine's time; ſo that it was not the Chriſtian religion that produced this change. All our modern writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the Antonines; yet there being no law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an age full of writers, of any orders that were given for burying-places, Velſerus's opinion ſeems more probable, that the cuſtom of burning wore out by degrees. And ſince we are ſure that they once buried, it is more natural to think, that the ſlaves and the meaner ſort of people were ſtill buried, that being a leſs expenſive and a more ſimple way of beſtowing their bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already burying-places prepared, it is much

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eaſier to imagine how the cuſtom of burying grew univerſal without any law made concerning it.

I could not for ſome time find out upon what grounds the modern critics take it for granted, that burying began in the times of the Antonines, till I had the happineſs to talk of this matter with the learned Gronovius, who ſeems to be ſuch a maſter of all the ancient learning, as if he had the authors lying always open before him. He told me, that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Chriſtian Emperors: for Macrobius (*lib. 7. cap. 7.*) ſays in plain terms, That the cuſtom of burning the bodies of the dead was quite worn out in that age; which is a clear intimation, that it was not laid aſide ſo late as Conſtantine: and as there was no law made by him on that head, ſo he and the ſucceeding Emperors gave ſuch an entire toleration to Paganiſm, admitting thoſe of that religion to the greateſt employments, that it is not to be imagined that there was any order given againſt burning. So that it is clear the Heathens had changed it of their own accord, otherwiſe we ſhould have found that among the complaints that they made of the grievances under which they lay from the Chriſtians. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. Gronovius ſhewed me a paſſage of Phlegon's, that mentions the bodies that were laid in the ground; yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the cuſtoms of burying that might be elſewhere: and ſo Petronius gives the account of the burial of the Epheſian matron's huſband. But he made it apparent to me, that burying was commonly practiſed in Commodus's time: for Xiphilinus tells us, that, in Pertinax's time, the friends of thoſe whom Commodus had ordered to be put to death, had dug up their bodies; ſome bringing out only ſome parts of them, and others raiſing their

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entire bodies. The ſame author alſo tells us, that Pertinax buried Commodus's body, and ſo ſaved it from the rage of the people: and here is a poſitive evidence, that burying was the common practice of that time. The ſame learned perſon has, ſince my firſt converſation with him upon this ſubject, ſuggeſted to me two paſſages of Feſtus Pompeius, that ſeem to determine this whole matter; and that tell us by what names thoſe catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what ſort of perſons were laid in them: we have alſo the deſignation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies. And it appears particularly by them, that, in the repoſitories of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to preſerve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are: *Puticulos antiquiſſimum genus ſepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi in puteis ſepelirentur homines; qualis fuerit locus, quo nunc cadavera projici ſolent extra portam Eſquilinam: quæ, quod ibi putefcerent, inde prius appellatos exiſtimat* Puticulos *Ælius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuiſſe, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putefcerent, nomen eſſe factum* Puticuli. The other paſſage runs thus: *Veſpæ & veſpillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucribus, ſed quia veſpertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees ſo exactly to the thoughts that a general view of thoſe repoſitories gives a man, that it will not be hard to perſuade him, that thoſe burying-places that are now graced with the pompous title of *catacombs*, are no other than the *puticuli* of Feſtus Pompeius, where the meaneſt ſort of the Roman ſlaves were laid, and ſo, without any farther care about them, were left to rot.

It is true, it is very probable, that as we ſee ſome of the Roman families continue to bury their dead, even when burning was the more common cuſtom; ſo perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being indifferent, and no law made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the Chriſtians after this time, that they abhorred the cuſtom of burning the bodies of the dead; which is mentioned by Minutius Felix. But this, or any other evidences that may be brought from medals of conſecrations after this time, will only prove that ſome were ſtill burnt; and that the Chriſtians practiſed burying univerſally, as expreſſing their belief of the reſurrection; whereas the Heathens held the thing indifferent. It is alſo clear from the many genuine inſcriptions that have been found in the catacombs, which bear the dates of the conſuls, that theſe were the common burial-places of all the Chriſtians of the fourth and fifth century; for I do not remember that there is any one date that is ancienter: and yet not one of the writers of thoſe ages ſpeak of them as the work of the primitive Chriſtians. They ſpeak indeed of the burial-places of the martyrs; but that will prove no more, but that the Chriſtians might have had their quarters and their walks in thoſe common burial-places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them; though it is not likely that they would in times of perſecution make ſuch inſcriptions as might have expoſed the bodies of their dead friends to the rage of their enemies: and the ſpurious acts of ſome ſaints and martyrs are of too little credit to give any ſupport to the common opinion. Damaſus's poetry is of no better authority. And though thoſe ages were inclined enough to give credit to fables, yet it ſeems this of thoſe catacombs having been the work of the primitive Chriſtians, was too

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groſs a thing to have been ſo early impoſed on the world. And this ſilence in an age in which ſuperſtition was going on at ſo great a rate, has much force in it; for ſo vaſt a work as thoſe catacombs are, muſt have been well known to all the Romans. It were eaſy to carry this much farther, and to ſhew, that the bas reliefs that have been found in ſome of thoſe catacombs, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient Roman time. This is alſo more diſcernible in many inſcriptions that are more Gothic than Roman; and there are ſo many inſcriptions relating to fables, that it is plain theſe were of later times: and we ſee by Saint Jerome, that the monks began even in his time to drive a trade of reliques. So it is no wonder that, to raiſe the credit of ſuch a heap as was never to be exhauſted, they made ſome miſerable ſculptures and ſome inſcriptions, and perhaps ſhut up the entries into them with much care and ſecrecy, intending to open them upon ſome dream or other artifice, to give them the more reputation; which was often practiſed, in order to the drawing much wealth and great devotion even to ſome ſingle relique: and a few being upon this ſecret, either thoſe might have died, or, by the many revolutions that happened at Rome, they might have been diſperſed before they made the diſcovery. And thus the knowledge of thoſe places was loſt, and came to be diſcovered by accident in the laſt age; and hath ever ſince ſupplied them with an inexhauſtible magazine of bones, which by all appearance are no other than the bones of the Pagan Romans, which are now ſent over the world to feed a ſuperſtition that is as blind as it proves expenſive. And thus the bones of the Roman ſlaves, or at leaſt thoſe of the meaner ſort, are now ſet in ſilver and gold, with a great deal of other coſtly garniture, and entertain the ſuperſtition of thoſe who are will-

ing to be deceived, as well as they ſerve the ends of thoſe that ſeek to deceive the world. But becauſe it cannot be pretended that there was ſuch a number of Chriſtians at Naples as could have wrought ſuch catacombs; and if it had been once thought, that thoſe were the common burial-places of the ancient Heathens, that might have induced the world to think that the Roman catacombs were no other: therefore there hath been no care taken to examine theſe. I thought this deſerved a large diſcourſe, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this ſubject.

I will not enter upon a long deſcription of that which is ſo well known as Mont Veſuvio. It had roared ſo loud about a month before I came to Naples, that at Naples they could hardly ſleep in the nights; and ſome old houſes were ſo ſhaken by the earthquake that was occaſioned by this convulſion of the hill, that they fell to the ground. And the great convulſion, above fifty years ago, was ſo terrible, that there was no ſmall fear in Naples, though it lies at the diſtance of ſeven miles from the hill: yet the ſtorm was choked under ground; for though it ſmoked much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption. It was indeed ſmoking, not only in the mouth of the little mount that is formed within the great waſte that the fire hath made, but alſo all along the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this mountain (which is four miles in compaſs) and that inward hill. When one ſees the mouth of this fire, and ſo great a part of the hill, which is covered ſome feet deep with aſhes and ſtones, of a metallic compoſition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but ſtand amazed, and wonder what can be the fewel of ſo laſting a burning, that hath calcined ſo much matter, and ſpewed out ſuch prodigious quantities. It is plain, there are vaſt veins of ſulphur all along in

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this ſoil; and it ſeems in this mountain they run along through ſome mines and rocks: and as their ſlow conſumption produceth a perpetual ſmoke, ſo, when the air within is ſo much rarified that it muſt open itſelf, it throws up thoſe maſſes of metal and rock that ſhut it in. But how this fire draws in air to nouriſh its flame, is not ſo eaſily apprehended; unleſs there is either a conveyance of air under-ground, by ſome undiſcovered vacuity, or a more inſenſible tranſmiſſion of air through the pores of the earth. The heat of this hill operates ſo much upon the ſoil that lies upon it towards the foot of it, that it produceth the richeſt wine about Naples; and it alſo purifieth the air ſo much, that the village at the bottom is thought the beſt air of the country; ſo that many come from Naples thither for their health. Iſchia, that is an iſland not far from Naples, doth alſo ſometimes ſpew out fire.

On the other ſide of Naples to the weſt, one paſſeth through the cave that pierceth the Pauſalippe, and is four hundred and forty paces long; for I walked it on foot, to take its true meaſure. It is twenty foot broad, and at firſt forty foot high; but afterwards it is but twenty foot high. The ſtone cut out here is good for building; ſo that, as this opened the way from Puzzuolo to Naples, it was alſo a quarry for the building of the town. All along the way here, one diſcovers a ſtrange boiling within the ground; for a little beyond this grott of Pauſalippe, as we come near the lake of Aniano, there is on the one hand a bath, occaſioned by a ſteam that riſeth ſo hot out of the ground, that as ſoon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himſelf all over in a ſweat; which is very proper for ſome diſeaſes, eſpecially that which carries its name from Naples. And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little grott that ſends out a poiſonous ſteam; that as it puts out a

candle as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living creature within a minute of time: for in half that time a dog, upon which the experiment is commonly tried, (the grott being from thence called *grotto di cane*), fell into a convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor remains of Puzzuolo, and of all that bay, that was once all about a tract of towns, it having been the retreat of the Romans during the heats of the summer. All the rarities here have been so often, and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the amphitheatre, or of Cicero and Virgil's houses, for which there is nothing but a dubious tradition. They are ancient brick buildings of the Roman way; and the vaults of Virgil's house are still entire. The Sulfatara is a surprising thing. Here is a bottom, out of which the force of the fire, that breaks out still in many places in a thick steaming smoke that is full of brimstone, did throw up about an hundred and fifty years ago a vast quantity of earth, which was carried about three miles thence, and formed the hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the ruins of a town that was overwhelmed with this eruption, which is of a very considerable height. They told me, that there was before that time a channel, that went from the bay into the lake of Averno, of which one sees the beginnings in the bay at some distance from the shore: it carrieth still the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by Julius Cæsar. But by the swelling of the ground, upon the eruption of the Sulfatara, this passage is stopped, and the Averno is now fresh water. It is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing cave, where the Sybil is said to have given out her inspirations. The hewing it out of the rock hath been a prodigious work; for the rock is one of the hardest

hardeſt ſtones in the world, and the cave goeth in ſeven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and, as I could gueſs, eighteen foot high: and from the end of this great gallery, there is a narrow paſſage of three foot broad, two hundred foot long, and ſeven high, to a little apartment, to which we go in a conſtant ſloping deſcent from the great cave. Here are three little rooms; in one of them there are ſome remains of an old moſaic, with which the walls and the roof were laid over. There is alſo a ſpring of water, and a bath, in which it is ſuppoſed the Sybil bathed herſelf; and from this cave it is ſaid, that there runs a cave all along to Cuma, which is three long miles; but the paſſage is now choked by the falling in of the rock in ſeveral places. This piece of work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular opinion that is eaſily received there, that all this was done by the devil. The marks of the chiſſel in all parts of the rock ſhew, that this is not a work of nature. Certainly they had both much leiſure, and many hands at their command who ſet about it; and it ſeems to have been wrought out with no other deſign, but to ſubject the people more entirely to the conduct of the prieſts that managed this impoſture: ſo buſy and induſtrious hath the ambition and fraud of the prieſts been in all ages, and in all corrupt religions. But of all the ſcenes of noble objects that preſent themſelves in the bay of Puzzuolo, the remains of Caligula's bridge are the moſt amazing; for there are yet ſtanding eight or ten of the pillars that ſupported the arches, and of ſome of the arches the half is yet entire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the water where the fartheſt of thoſe pillars is built; but my waterman aſſured me it was fifty cubits. I have, ſince my being in Naples, inſtructed one that was going thither in this particular, and have

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received this account from him: That he had taken care to plum the water at the furtheſt pillar of Caligula's bridge, on the Puzzuolo ſide, and found it was ſeven fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the waterman aſſured him, that, on the other ſide before Baia, the water was twenty-ſix fathom deep. But as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, ſo he believed a good deal ought to be abated: for the waterman had aſſured him, that the water was ten fathom deep on the Puzzuolo ſide; though, upon trial, he found it was only ſeven and a half. And by this meaſure one may ſuppoſe that the water is twenty fathom deep on the other ſide. So that it is one of the moſt aſtoniſhing things that one can think of, that pillars of brick could have been built in ſuch a depth of water. This I cannot believe; but it is certainly ſo deep, that one can ſcarce imagine how it was poſſible to build in ſuch a depth; and for the carrying off of the ſea, that ſeems yet more impoſſible. It is a noble monument of the profuſe and extravagant expence of a brutal tyrant, who made one of the vaſteſt bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four miles of ſea, merely to ſacrifice ſo great a treaſure to his vanity. As for Agrippina's tomb, it is no great matter; only the bas reliefs are yet entire. The marvellous fiſh-pond is a great baſon of water, wrought like a huge temple, ſtanding upon eight and forty great pillars, all hewed out of the rock; and they are laid over with four cruſts of the old plaiſter, which is now as hard as ſtone. This is believed to be a work of Nero's. And about a quarter of a mile from thence, there is another vaſt work, which goeth into a rock; but at the entrance there is a noble portico built of pillars of brick: and as one enters into the rock, he finds a great many rooms regularly

larly ſhaped, hewed out of the rock, and all covered over with plaiſter; which is ſtill entire, and ſo white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been waſhed over ſince it was firſt made. There are a vaſt number of thoſe rooms; they are ſaid to be a hundred; from whence this cave carrieth the name of the *centum cameræ*. This hath been as expenſive a work as it is uſeleſs. It is intitled to Nero; and here they ſay he kept his priſoners. But there is nothing in all this bay that is both ſo curious and ſo uſeful as the baths, which ſeem to flow from the ſame reaſon that is the cauſe of thoſe eruptions in the Veſuvio and Sulfatara, and the grottoes formerly mentioned; that as this heat makes ſome fountains there to be boiling hot, ſo it ſends up a ſteam through the rock, that doth not break through the pores of the ſtone where it is hard, but where the rock is ſoft and ſpungy, there the ſteams come through with ſo melting a heat, that a man is ſoon, as it were, diſſolved in ſweat: but if he ſtoops low in the paſſages that are cut in the rock, he finds no heat, becauſe there the rock is hard. Thoſe ſteams, as they are all hot, ſo they are impregnated with ſuch minerals as they find in their way through the rock; and near this bath there are galleries hewed out of the rock, and faced with a building, in which there are, as it were, bedſteads made in the walls, upon which thoſe that come thither to ſweat for their health lay their quilts and bed-cloaths, and ſo come regularly out of their ſweats.

It is certain, that a man can no where paſs a day of his life, both with ſo much pleaſure, and with ſuch advantage, as he finds in this journey to Puzzuolo, and all along the bay. But though anciently this was all ſo well built, ſo peopled, and ſo beautifully laid out; yet no where doth one ſee more viſibly what a change time brings upon all places:

places: for Naples hath ſo entirely ate out this place, and drawn its inhabitants to it, that as Puzzuolo itſelf is but a ſmall village, ſo there is now no other in all this bay, which was anciently built almoſt all round; for there were ſeven big towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found moſt conſiderable in Naples, I cannot paſs by that noble remnant of the Via Appia, that runs along thirty miles of the way between it and Rome, without making ſome mention of it. This highway is twelve foot broad, all made of huge ſtones, moſt of them blue; and they are generally a foot and half large on all ſides. The ſtrength of this cauſey appears in its long duration; for it hath laſted above eighteen hundred years, and is in moſt places, for ſeveral miles together, as entire as when it was firſt made: and the many botches that have been made in mending ſuch places as have been worn out by time, ſhew a very viſible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing ſeems ſtrange, that the way is level with the earth on both ſides; whereas ſo much weight as thoſe ſtones carry, ſhould have ſunk the ground under them by its preſſure. Beſides, that the earth, eſpecially in low grounds, receives a conſtant increaſe chiefly by the duſt which the winds or brooks carry down from the hills; both which reaſons ſhould make a more ſenſible difference between thoſe ways and the ſoil on both ſides. And this makes me apt to believe, that anciently thoſe ways were a little raiſed above the level of the ground; and that a courſe of ſo many ages hath now brought them to an equality. Thoſe ways were chiefly made for ſuch as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleaſant than to walk along them, ſo nothing is more inconvenient for horſes, and all ſorts of carriage. And indeed mules are the only beaſts of burden that can hold out long in this road; which

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beats all horſes, after they have gone it a little while. There are ſeveral remains of Roman antiquities at the mole of Cajeta; but the iſle of Caprea, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the ſea off from Naples, gave me a ſtrange idea of Tiberius's reign; ſince it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary to ſee a prince abandon the beſt ſeats and palaces of Italy, and ſhut himſelf up in a little iſland, in which I was told there was a tradition of ſeven little palaces that he built in it; or to ſee ſo vaſt a body as the Roman empire ſo governed by ſuch a tyrannical prince, at ſuch a diſtance from the chief ſeat, ſo that all might have been reverſed long before the news of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in ſtory, than to ſee ſo vaſt a ſtate, that had ſo great a ſenſe of liberty, ſubdued by ſo brutal and ſo voluptuous a man as Anthony, and ſo raw a youth as Auguſtus; ſo the wonder is much improved, when we ſee a prince, at a hundred and fifty miles diſtance, ſhut up in an iſland, carry the reins of ſo great a body in his hand, and turn it which way he pleaſed.

But now I come to Rome, which as it was once the empreſs of the world in a ſucceſſion of many ages, ſo it hath in it at preſent more curious things to entertain the attention of a traveller, than any other place in Europe. On the ſide of Tuſcany, the entry into Rome is very ſurpriſing to ſtrangers; for one cometh along, for a great many miles, upon the remains of the Via Flaminia; which is not indeed ſo entire as the Via Appia; yet there is enough left to raiſe a juſt idea of the Roman greatneſs, who laid ſuch cauſeys all Italy over. And within the gate of the Porta di Populo, there is a noble obeliſk, a vaſt fountain, two fine little churches, like two twins, reſembling one another, as well as placed near one another; and on ſeveral hands

hands one ſees a long viſta of ſtreets. There is not a town in theſe parts of the world where the churches, convents, and palaces, are ſo noble, and where the other buildings are ſo mean; which indeed diſcovers very viſibly the miſery under which the Romans grone. The churches of Rome are ſo well known, that I will not adventure on any deſcription of them; and indeed I had too tranſient a view of them, to make it with that degree of exactneſs which the ſubject requires. St Peter's alone would make a long letter, not to ſay a big book. Its length, height, and breadth, are all ſo exactly proportioned, and the eye is ſo equally poſſeſſed with all theſe, that the whole upon the firſt view doth not appear ſo vaſt as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four pillars, upon which the cupola riſes, are of ſuch a prodigious bigneſs, that one would think they were ſtrong enough to bear any ſuperſtructure whatſoever; ſo when one climbs up to the top of that vaſt height, he wonders what foundation can bear ſo huge a weight: for as the church is of a vaſt height, ſo the cupola riſes four hundred and fifteen large ſteps above the roof of the church. In the height of the concave of this cupola, there is a repreſentation, that though it can hardly be ſeen from the floor below, unleſs one hath a good ſight, and ſo it doth not perhaps give much ſcandal; yet it is a groſs indication of the idolatry of that church: for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient man compaſſed about with angels. I will ſay nothing of the great altar, of the chair of St Peter, of the great tombs, of which the three chief are Paul III. Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. nor of the vaſt vaults under this church, and the remains of antiquity that are reſerved in them; nor will I undertake a deſcription of the adjoining palace, where the painting of the Corridori,

dori, and of many of the rooms by Raphael and Michael Angelo, are ſo rich, that one is ſorry to ſee a work of that value laid on freſco, and which muſt by conſequence wear out too ſoon, as in ſeveral places it is almoſt quite loſt already. I could not but obſerve in the Sala Regia, that is before the famous chapel of Siſto V. and that is all painted in freſco, one corner that repreſents the murder of the renowned Admiral Chaſtillon, and that hath written under it theſe words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*. The vaſt length of the gallery on one ſide, and of the library on another, doth ſurpriſe one. The gardens have many ſtatues of a moſt exceſſive value, and ſome good fountains; but the gardens are ill maintained both here and in the palace of the Quirinal. And indeed, in moſt of the palaces of Rome, if there were but a ſmall coſt laid out to keep all in good caſe that is brought together at ſo vaſt a charge, they would make another ſort of ſhew, and be looked at with much more pleaſure. In the apartments of Rome, there are a great many things that offend the ſight. The doors are generally mean, and the locks meaner, except in the palace of Prince Borgheſe; where, as there is the vaſteſt collection of the beſt pieces, and of the hands of the greateſt maſters that are in all Europe; ſo the doors and locks give not that diſtaſte to the eye that one finds elſewhere. The flooring of the palace is all of brick; which is ſo very mean, that one ſees the diſproportion that is between the floors and the reſt of the room, not without a ſenſible perception and diſlike. It is true, they ſay their air is ſo cold and moiſt in winter, that they cannot pave with marble; and the heat is ſometimes ſo great in ſummer, that a flooring of wood would crack with heat, as well as be ate up by the vermin that would neſtle in it: but if they kept in their great palaces ſervants to waſh their

floors with that care that is uſed in Holland, where the air is moiſter, and the climate more productive of vermin, they would not find ſuch effects from wooden floors as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out ſo much wealth all at once as the Italians do upon the building and finiſhing of their palaces and gardens, and that afterwards beſtow ſo little on the preſerving of them. Another thing I obſerved in their palaces: There is indeed a great ſeries of noble rooms one within another, of which their apartments are compoſed; but I did not find at the end of the apartments, where the bed-chamber is, ſuch a diſpoſition of rooms for back-ſtairs, dreſſing-rooms, cloſets, ſervants rooms, and other conveniencies, as are neceſſary for accommodating the apartment. It is true, this is not ſo neceſſary for an apartment of ſtate, in which magnificence is more conſidered than convenience; but I found the ſame want in thoſe apartments in which they lodged: ſo that, notwithſtanding all the riches of their palaces, it cannot be ſaid that they are well lodged in them. And their gardens are yet leſs underſtood, and worſe kept than their palaces. It is true, the Villa Borgheſe ought to be excepted; where, as there is a prodigious collection of bas reliefs, with which the walls are as it were covered all over, that are of a vaſt value; ſo the ſtatues within, of which ſome are of porphyry, and others of touchſtone, are amazing things. The whole ground of this park, which is about three miles in compaſs, and in which there are ſix or ſeven lodges, is laid out ſo ſweetly, that I thought I was in an Engliſh park when I walked over it. The Villa Pamphilia is better ſituated, upon a higher ground, and hath more water-works, and twice the extent of the other in ſoil; but neither doth the houſe nor ſtatues approach to the riches of the other, nor is the

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ground ſo well laid out, nor ſo well kept. But for the furniture of the palaces of Rome, the public apartments are all covered over with pictures: and as for thoſe apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furniſhed either with red velvet or red damaſk, with a broad gold galloon at every breadth of the ſtuff, and a gold fringe at top and bottom; but there is very little tapeſtry in Italy.

I have been carried into all this digreſſion, from the general view that I was giving you of the Pope's palace. I named one part of it, which will engage me into a new digreſſion, as it well deſerves one; and that is the library of the Vatican. The caſe is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a collection of books that filleth a man's eye. There is firſt a great hall, and at the end of it there run out on both ſides two galleries of ſo vaſt a length, that though the half of them is already furniſhed with books, yet one would hope, that there is room left for more new books than the world will ever produce. The Heidelberg library ſtands by itſelf, and filleth one ſide of the gallery; as the Duke of Urbin's library of manuſcripts filleth the other. But though theſe laſt are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of ſuch antiquity as thoſe of Heidelberg. When it appeared that I was come from England, King Henry VIII.'s book of the *ſeven ſacraments*, with an inſcription writ upon it with his own hand to Pope Leo X. was ſhewed me, together with a collection of ſome letters that he writ to Anna Bullen, of which ſome are in Engliſh and ſome in French. I, that knew his hand well, ſaw clearly that they were no forgeries. There are not many Latin manuſcripts of great antiquity in this library; ſome few of Virgil's I ſaw writ in capitals. But that which took up almoſt half of one day that I ſpent at one time in this place, related to the pre-

ſcnt diſpute which is on foot between Mr Schelſtrat the library-keeper, and Mr Maimbourg, concerning the council of Conſtance. The two points in debate are, the words of the decree made in the fourth ſeſſion, and the Pope's confirmation. In the fourth ſeſſion, according to the French manuſcripts, a decree was made, ſubjecting the Pope, and all other perſons whatſoever, to the authority of the council, and to the decrees it was to make, and to the reformation it intended to eſtabliſh both in the head and the members; which, as it implies that the head was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, ſo it ſets the council ſo directly above the Pope, that this ſeſſion, being confirmed by the Pope, putteth thoſe who aſſert the Pope's infallibility to no ſmall ſtraits. For if Pope Martin, that approved this decree, was infallible, then this decree is good ſtill; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible. To all this Schelſtrat anſwers from his manuſcripts, That the words, *Of a reformation in head and members*, are not in the decree of that ſeſſion: and he did ſhew me ſeveral manuſcripts, of which two were evidently writ during the ſitting of the council, and were not at all daſhed, in which theſe words were not. I know the hand and way of writing of that age too well, to be eaſily miſtaken in my judgment concerning thoſe manuſcripts. But if theſe words are wanting, there are other words in them that ſeem to be much ſtronger for the ſuperiority of the council above that Pope; for it is decreed, that *Popes, and all other perſons, were bound to ſubmit to the deciſions of the council as to faith*; which words are not in the French manuſcripts. Upon this I told Mr Schelſtrat, that I thought the words in theſe manuſcripts were ſtronger than the other; ſince the word *reformation*, as it was uſed in the time of that council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of abuſes,

uſes, it being often applied to the regulations that were made in the monaſtic orders, when they were brought to a more exact obſervation of the rules of their order: ſo though the council had decreed a reformation both of head and members, I do not ſee that this would import more, than that the papacy had fallen into ſome diſorders that needed a reformation; and this is not denied even by thoſe who aſſert the Pope's infallibility. But a ſubmiſſion to points of faith, that is expreſsly aſſerted in the Roman manuſcripts, is a much more poſitive evidence againſt the Pope's infallibility; and the word *faith* is not capable of ſo large a ſenſe, as may be juſtly aſcribed to *reformation*. But this difference in ſo main a point, between manuſcripts concerning ſo late a tranſaction, gave me an occaſion to reflect on the vaſt uncertainty of tradition, eſpecially of matters that are at a great diſtance from us; when thoſe that were ſo lately tranſacted, are ſo differently repreſented in manuſcripts, and in which both thoſe of Paris and Rome ſeem to carry all poſſible evidences of ſincerity. As for the Pope's confirmation of that decree, it is true, by a general bull Pope Martin confirmed the council of Conſtance to ſuch a period: but, beſides that, he made a particular bull, as Schelſtrat aſſured me, in which he enumerated all the decrees that he confirmed; and among thoſe, this decree concerning the ſuperiority of the council is not named. This ſeemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I deſired to ſee the original of the bull; for there ſeem to be juſt reaſons to apprehend a forgery here. He promiſed to do his endeavour; though he told me that would not be eaſy, for the bulls were ſtrictly kept: and the next day when I came hoping to ſee it, I could not be admitted; but he aſſured me, that if that had not been the laſt day of my ſtay at Rome, he would have pro-

cured a warrant for my seeing the original. So this is all I can say as to the authenticalness of that bull. But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree with Mr Schelstrat, that the general bull of confirmation ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular decrees: for since that particular bull was never discovered till he found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the forms of the consistory, and was a fraudulent thing, of which no noise was to be made in that age; and therefore, in all the dispute that followed in the council of Basil between the Pope and the council upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: and thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the artifices and fraud of that court; that at the same time in which the necessity of their affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the decrees of the council, he contrived a secret bull, which in another age might be made use of to weaken the authority of the general confirmation that he gave; and therefore a bull that doth not pass in due form, and is not promulgated, is of no authority; and so this pretended bull cannot limit the other bull. There were some other things relating to this debate that were shewed me by Mr Schelstrat; but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned men at Rome. Bellori is deservedly famous for his knowledge of the Greek and Egyptian antiquities, and for all that belongs to the mythologies and superstitions of the Heathens; and hath a closet richly furnished with things relating to those matters. Fabretti is justly celebrated for his understanding of the old Roman architecture and fabrics. Padre Fabri is the chief honour of the Jesuits college, and is much above the common rate both for philosophy, mathematics, and

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church-history. And he to whom I was the moſt obliged, Abbot Nazari, hath ſo general a view of the ſeveral parts of learning, though he hath chiefly applied himſelf to philoſophy and mathematics, and is a man of ſo engaging a civility, and uſed me in ſo particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as thoſe others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the honour to ſee, all the acknowledgments of eſteem and gratitude that I can poſſibly make them.

One ſees in Cardinal d'Eſtrée all the advantages of a high birth, great parts, a generous civility, and a meaſure of knowledge far above what can be expected from a perſon of his rank: but as he gave a noble protection to one of the moſt learned men that this age hath produced, Mr Launoy, who lived many years with him; ſo it is viſible, that he made a great progreſs by the converſation of ſo extraordinary a perſon. And as for theological learning, there is now none of the college equal to him. Cardinal Howard is too well known in England, to need any character from me. The elevation of his preſent condition hath not in the leaſt changed him: he hath all the ſweetneſs and gentleneſs of temper that we ſaw in him in England; and he retains the unaffected ſimplicity and humility of a frier, amidſt all the dignity of the purple. And as he ſheweth all the generous care and concern for his countrymen that they can expect from him; ſo I met with ſo much of it, in ſo many obliging marks of his goodneſs to myſelf, that went far beyond a common civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the Pope's confeſſor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental learning, which is but little known in Rome. He is a maſter of the Arabic tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot Nazari told me, the moſt learned book againſt the Mahometan religion that

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the world hath yet ſeen, but it is not yet printed. He is not ſo much eſteemed in Rome, as he would be elſewhere; for his learning is not in vogue. And the ſchool-divinity, and caſuiſtical learning, being that for which divines are moſt eſteemed there, he whoſe ſtudies lead him another way is not ſo much valued as he ought to be. And perhaps the ſmall account that the Pope makes of learned men turns ſomewhat upon the confeſſor; for it is certain, that this is a reign in which learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the general contempt that all the Romans have for the preſent pontificate, one made a pleaſant reflection to me. He ſaid, thoſe Popes that intended to raiſe their families, as they ſaw the cenſure that this brought upon them; ſo they ſtudied to leſſen it by other things that might ſoften the ſpirits of the people. No man did more for beautifying Rome, for finiſhing St Peter's and the library, and for furniſhing Rome with water, than Pope Paul V.; though, at the ſame time, he did not forget his family. And though the other Popes, that have raiſed great families, have not done this to ſo eminent a degree as he did; yet there are many remains of their magnificence: whereas thoſe Popes that have not raiſed families, have, it ſeems, thought that alone was enough to maintain their reputation; and ſo they have not done much, either to recommend their government to their ſubjects, or their reign to poſterity. And it is very plain, that the preſent Pope taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent, and free from all thoſe public ſcandals that make a noiſe in the world: and there is at preſent a regularity in Rome, that deſerveth great commendation; for public vices are not to be ſeen there. His perſonal ſobriety is alſo ſingular. One aſſured me, that the expence of his table did not amount

amount to a crown a-day; though this is indeed ſhort of Sixto V. who gave order to his ſteward never to exceed five and twenty bajokes, that is, eighteen pence a-day, for his diet. The Pope is very careful of his health, and doth never expoſe it; for upon the leaſt diſorder he ſhuts himſelf up in his chamber, and often keepeth his bed for the leaſt indiſpoſition many days: but his government is ſevere, and his ſubjects are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the poverty of a nation not only diſpeoples it, by driving the people out of it, but by weakening the natural fertility of the ſubjects; for as men and women well clothed, and well fed, that are not exhauſted with perpetual labour, and with the tearing anxieties that want brings with it, muſt be more lively than thoſe that are preſſed with want; ſo it is very likely, that the one muſt be much more diſpoſed to propagate than the other. And this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the fruitfulneſs of Geneva and Switzerland with the barrenneſs that reigns over all Italy. I ſaw two extraordinary inſtances of the copious productions of Geneva. Mr Tronchin, that was Profeſſor of Divinity, and father to the judicious and worthy Profeſſor of the ſame name that is now there, died at the age of ſeventy-ſix years, and had a hundred and fifteen perſons all alive, that had either deſcended from him, or by marriage with thoſe that deſcended from him, called him father. And Mr Calendrin, a pious and laborious preacher of that town, that is deſcended from the family of the Calendrini, who, receiving the reformation about a hundred and fifty years ago, left Lucca their native city, with the Turretini, the Diodati, and the Bourlamachi, and ſome others that came and ſettled at Geneva; he is now but ſeven and forty years

old, and yet he hath a hundred and five perſons that are deſcended of his brothers and ſiſters, or married to them. So that, if he liveth but to eighty, and the family multiplieth as it hath done, he may ſee ſome hundreds that will be in the ſame relation to him. But ſuch things as theſe are not to be found in Italy.

There is nothing that delights a ſtranger more in Rome, than to ſee the great fountains of water that are almoſt in all the corners of it. That old aqueduct which Paul V. reſtored, cometh from a collection of ſources five and thirty miles diſtant from Rome, that runs all the way upon an aqueduct in a canal that is vaulted, and is liker a river than a fountain. It breaketh out in five ſeveral fountains, of which ſome give water about a foot ſquare. That of Sixtus V. the great fountain of Aqua Travi, that hath yet no decoration, but diſchargeth a prodigious quantity of water; the glorious fountain in the Piazza Navona, that hath an air of greatneſs in it that ſurpriſeth one; the fountain in the Piazza de Spagna, thoſe before St Peter's, and the Palazzo Farneſe, with many others, furniſh Rome ſo plentifully, that almoſt every private houſe hath a fountain that runs continually. All theſe, I ſay, are noble decorations, that carry an uſefulneſs with them that cannot be enough commended; and give a much greater idea of thoſe who have taken care to ſupply this city with one of the chief pleaſures and conveniencies of life, than of others, who have laid out millions merely to bring quantities of water to give the eye a little diverſion; which would have been laid out much more nobly and uſefully, and would have more effectually eternized their fame, if they had been employed, as the Romans did their treaſures, in furniſhing great towns with water.

There is an univerſal civility that reigns among all

all ſorts of people at Rome; which, in a great meaſure, flows from their government: for every man being capable of all the advancements of that ſtate, ſince a ſimple eccleſiaſtic may become one of the Monſignori, and one of theſe may be a Cardinal, and one of theſe may be choſen Pope; this makes every man behave himſelf towards all other perſons with an exactneſs of reſpect; for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes profeſſions of eſteem and kindneſs go ſo promiſcuouſly to all ſorts of perſons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The converſation of Rome is generally upon news: for though there is no news printed there, yet, in the ſeveral antichambers of the Cardinals, (where, if they make any conſiderable figure, there are aſſemblies of thoſe that make their court to them), one is ſure to hear all the news of Europe, together with many ſpeculations upon what paſſeth. At the Queen of Sweden's, all that relateth to Germany, or the north, is ever to be found; and that princeſs, that muſt ever reign among all that have a true taſte either of wit or learning, hath ſtill in her drawing-rooms the beſt court of the ſtrangers; and her civility, together with the vaſt variety with which ſhe furniſheth her converſation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living rarities that one ſees in Rome. I will not uſe her own words to myſelf, which were, *That ſhe now grew to be one of the antiquities of Rome.* The ambaſſadors of crowns, who live here in another form than in any other court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the ſeveral nations that do all meet and center here, make that there is more news in Rome than any where: for prieſts, and the men of religious orders, write larger and more particular letters, than any other ſort of men. But ſuch as apply themſelves to make their court here, are condemned to a loſs of time

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that had need be well recompenſed, for it is very great. As for one that ſtudies antiquities, pictures, ſtatues, or muſic, there is more entertainment for him at Rome, than in all the reſt of Europe; but if he hath not a taſte of theſe things, he will ſoon be weary of a place where the converſation is always general, and where there is little ſincerity or openneſs practiſed, and, by conſequence, where friendſhip is little underſtood. The women here begin to be a little more converſable; though a nation naturally jealous will hardly allow a great liberty in a city that is compoſed of eccleſiaſtics, who, being denied the privilege of wives of their own, are ſuſpected ſometimes of being too bold with the wives of others. The liberties that were taken in the Conſtable of Naples's palace had indeed diſguſted the Romans much at that freedom which had no bounds. But the Ducheſs of Bracciano, that is a Frenchwoman, hath, by the exactneſs of her deportment amidſt all the innocent freedoms of a noble converſation, recovered, in a great meaſure, the credit of thoſe liberties that ladies beyond the mountains practiſe with all the ſtrictneſs of virtue: for ſhe receiveth viſits at public hours, and in public rooms; and, by the livelineſs of her converſation, maketh that her court is the pleaſanteſt aſſembly of ſtrangers that is to be found in any of the palaces of the Italians at Rome.

I will not engage in a deſcription of Rome, either ancient or modern. This hath been done ſo oft, and with ſuch exactneſs, that nothing can be added to what hath been already publiſhed. It is certain, that when one is in the capitol, and ſees thoſe poor remains of what once it was, he is ſurpriſed to ſee a building of ſo great a fame ſunk ſo low, that one can ſcarce imagine that it was once a caſtle ſituated upon a hill, able to hold out againſt

againſt a ſiege of the Gauls. The Tarpeian rock is now of ſo ſmall a fall, that a man would think it no great matter, for his diverſion, to leap over it. And the ſhape of the ground hath not been ſo much altered on one ſide, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other: for Severus's triumphal arch, which is at the foot of the hill on the other ſide, is not now buried above two foot within the ground; as the vaſt amphitheatre of Titus is not above three foot ſunk under the level of the ground. Within the capitol one ſees many noble remnants of antiquity; but none is more glorious, as well as more uſeful, than the tables of their conſuls, which are upon the walls; and the inſcription on the Columna Roſtrata in the time of the firſt Punic war, is, without doubt, the moſt valuable antiquity in Rome. From this, all along the Sacred Way, one findeth ſuch remnants of old Rome, in the ruins of the temples, in the triumphal arches, in the porticos, and other remains of that glorious body; that as one cannot ſee theſe too often, ſo every time one ſees them, they kindle in him vaſt ideas of that republic, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleaſure. From the height of the convent of Araceli, a man hath a full view of all the extent of Rome: but literally it is now *Seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the parts of the city that were moſt inhabited anciently, are thoſe that are now laid in great gardens, or, as they call them, vineyards, of which ſome are half a mile in compaſs. The vaſtneſs of the Roman magnificence and luxury is that which paſſeth imagination. The prodigious amphitheatre of Titus, that could conveniently receive eighty-five thouſand ſpectators; the great extent of the Circus Maximus; the vaults where the waters were reſerved that furniſhed Titus's baths; and, above all, Dioclefian's baths, though built when the em-

pire was in its decay, are ſo far above all modern buildings, that there is not ſo much as room for a compariſon. The extent of thoſe baths is above half a mile in compaſs; the vaſtneſs of the rooms, in which the bathers might ſwim, of which the Carthuſians church, that yet remains entire, is one, and the many great pillars, all of one ſtone of marble, beautifully ſpotted, are things of which theſe latter ages are not capable. The beauty of their temples, and of the porticos before them, is amazing; chiefly that of the Rotunda, where the fabric without looketh as mean, being only brick, as the architecture is bold; for it riſeth up in a vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty foot in diameter; which, as it is the only window of the church, ſo it filleth it with light, and is the hardieſt piece of architecture that ever was made. The pillars of the portico are alſo the nobleſt in Rome; they are the higheſt and biggeſt that one can ſee any where all of one ſtone: and the numbers of thoſe ancient pillars, with which not only many of the churches are beautified, chiefly St Mary Maggiore, and St John in the Lateran, but with which even private houſes are adorned, and of the fragments of which there are ſuch multitudes in all the ſtreets of Rome, give a great idea of the profuſeneſs of the old Romans in their buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of thoſe pillars muſt have coſt more than whole palaces do now, ſince moſt of them were brought from Greece. Many of theſe pillars are of porphyry, others of jaſp, others of granated marble; but the greateſt number is of white marble. The two columns, Trajan's and Antonin's; the two horſes that are in the mount Cavallo, and the other two horſes in the capitol, which have not indeed the poſtures and motion of the other; the braſs horſe that, as is believed, carrieth Marcus Aurelius;

lius; the remains of Nero's coloſſus; the temple of Bacchus, near the catacomb of St Agnes, which is the entireſt, and the leaſt altered of all the ancient temples; the great temple of Peace, thoſe of the Sun and Moon, that of Romulus and Rhemus, (which I conſidered as the ancienteſt fabric that is now left; for it is little and ſimple, and ſtandeth in ſuch a place, that when Rome grew ſo coſtly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was reverenced for its antiquity); the many other porticos; the arches of Severus, of Titus, and Conſtantine; in the laſt of which one ſees, that the ſculpture of his age was much ſunk from what it had been; only in the top there are ſome bas reliefs, that are clearly of a much ancienter time, and of a better manner: and that which exceeded all the reſt, the many great aqueducts that come from all hands, and run over a vaſt diſtance, are things which a man cannot ſee oft enough, if he would form in himſelf a juſt idea of the vaſtneſs of that republic, or rather empire. There are many ſtatues and pillars, and other antiquities of great value, dug up in all the quarters of Rome, theſe laſt hundred and fourſcore years, ſince Pope Leo X.'s time; who, as he was the greateſt patron of learning and arts that perhaps ever was, ſo he was the moſt generous prince that ever reigned: and it was he that firſt ſet on foot the inquiring into the riches of old Rome, that lay till his time, for the moſt part, hid under ground. And indeed, if he had been leſs ſcandalous in his impiety and atheiſm, of which neither he nor his court were ſo much as aſhamed, he had been one of the moſt celebrated perſons of any age. Soon after him, Pope Paul III. gave the ground of the Monte Palatino to his family: but I was told, that this large piece of ground, in which one ſhould look for the greateſt collection of the antiquities of the

higheſt value, ſince this is the ruin of the palace of the Roman Emperors, hath never been yet ſearched into with any exactneſs. So that, when a curious prince cometh, that is willing to employ many hands in digging up and down this hill, we may expect new ſcenes of Roman antiquities. But all this matter would require volumes; and therefore I have only named theſe things, becauſe I can add nothing to thoſe copious deſcriptions that have been ſo oft made of them. Nor will I ſay any thing of the modern palaces, or the ornaments of them, either in pictures or ſtatues; which are things that carry one ſo far, that it is not eaſy to give bounds to the deſcriptions into which one findeth himſelf carried, when he once enters upon ſo fruitful a ſubject. The number of the palaces is great; and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts. It is true, the Paleſtrina, the Borgheſe, and the Farneſe, have ſomewhat in them that leaves an impreſſion which no new objects can wear out; and as the laſt hath a noble ſquare before it, with two great fountains in it; ſo the ſtatue of Hercules and the bull, that are below, and the gallery above ſtairs, are invaluable. The roof of the gallery is one of the beſt pieces of painting that is extant, being all of Carrachio's hand; and there is in that gallery the greateſt number of heads of the Greek philoſophers and poets that I ever ſaw together. That of Homer, and that of Socrates, were the two that ſtruck me moſt, chiefly the latter; which, as it is, without diſpute, a true antique, ſo it carrieth in it all the characters that Plato and Xenophon give us of Socrates: the flat noſe, the broad face, the ſimplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great philoſopher made; ſo that I could not return oft enough to look upon it; and was delighted

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with this more than with all the wonders of the bull; which is indeed a rock of marble, cut out into a whole ſcene of ſtatues: but as the hiſtory of it is not well known, ſo there are ſuch faults in the ſculpture, that though it is all extremely fine, yet one ſeeth it hath not the exactneſs of the beſt times. As for the churches and convents of Rome, as the number, the vaſtneſs, the riches, both of fabric, furniture, painting, and other ornaments, amaze one; ſo here again a ſtranger is loſt, and the convent that one ſeeth laſt is always the moſt admired. I confeſs, the Minerva, which is the Dominicans, where the inquiſition ſitteth, is that which maketh the moſt ſenſible impreſſion upon one that paſſeth at Rome for an heretic; though, except one committeth great follies, he is in no danger there; and the poverty that reigns in that city maketh them find their intereſt ſo much in uſing ſtrangers well, whatſoever their religion may be, that no man needs be afraid there. And I have more than ordinary reaſon to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken in writing my thoughts freely both of the church and ſee of Rome, and was known by all with whom I converſed there; yet met with the higheſt civilities poſſible among all ſorts of people, and in particular both among the Engliſh and Scottiſh Jeſuits, though they knew well enough that I was no friend to their order.

In the gallery of the Engliſh Jeſuits, among the pictures of their martyrs, I did not meet with Garnet; for perhaps that name is ſo well known, that they would not expoſe a picture with ſuch a name on it to all ſtrangers: yet Oldcorn, being a name leſs known, is hung there among their martyrs, though he was as clearly convicted of the gunpowder-treaſon as the other was. And it ſeemed a little ſtrange to me to ſee, that at a time in which, for

other reasons, the Writers of that communion have not thought fit to deny the truth of that conspiracy, a Jesuit convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their martyrs. I saw likewise there the original of those emblematical prophecies relating to England, that the Jesuits have had at Rome near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a copy; so I found my copy was true. I happened to be at Rome during St Gregory's fair and feast, which lasted several days. In his church the *bestie* was exposed; and from that all that came thither went to the chapel, that was once his house, in which his statue, and the table where he served the poor, are preserved. I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one would have thought all Rome was got together. They all kneeled down to his statue; and, after a prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the table with his beads, as hoping to draw some virtue from it. I will add nothing of the several obelisks and pillars that are in Rome; of the celebrated chapels that are in some of the great churches, in particular those of Sixtus V. and Paul V. in Santa Maria Maggiore; of the water-works in the Quirinal, the Vatican, and in many of the vineyards: nor will I go out of Rome to describe Frescati, (for Tivoli I did not see). The young Prince Borghese, who is indeed one of the glories of Rome, as well for his learning as for his virtue, did me the honour to carry me thither with those two learned Abbots, Fabretti and Nazari, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give than me to receive. The water-works in the Aldobrandin palace have a magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in France; the mixture of wind with the water, and the thunder and storms that this maketh, is noble. The water-works of

the Ludoviſio, and the Monte Dragone, have likewiſe a greatneſs in them that is natural. And indeed, the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in Italy, and the poverty that one ſeeth every where abroad, are the moſt unſuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely, that a great part of their moveable wealth will be ere long carried into France; for as ſoon as any picture or ſtatue of great value is offered to be ſold, thoſe that are employed by the King of France preſently buy it up: ſo that, as that King hath already the greateſt collection of pictures that is in Europe, he will very probably, in a few years more, bring together the chief treaſures of Italy.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared moſt remarkable to me at Rome. I ſhall to this add a very extraordinary piece of natural hiſtory, that fell out there within theſe two years; which I had firſt from thoſe two learned Abbots, Fabretti and Nazari, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal Howard, who was one of the congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two nuns near Rome, one, as I remember, was in the city, and the other not far from it; who, after they had been for ſome years in a nunnery, perceived a very ſtrange change in nature; and that their ſex was altered, which grew by ſome degrees to a total alteration in one; and though the other was not ſo entire a change, yet it was viſible that ſhe was more man than woman. Upon this the matter was looked into. That which naturally offereth itſelf here, is, *That theſe two had been always what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a nunnery in a diſguiſe to gratify a brutal appetite.* But to this, when I propoſed it, anſwer was made, That as the breaſts of a woman that remained ſtill, did in a great meaſure ſhake

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off that objection; ſo the proofs were given ſo fully of their having been real females, that there was no doubt left of that; nor had they given any ſort of ſcandal in the change of their ſex: and if there had been any room left to ſuſpect a cheat or diſguiſe, the proceedings would have been both more ſevere and more ſecret, and theſe perſons would have been burnt, or at leaſt put to death in ſome terrible manner. Some phyſicians and ſurgeons were appointed to examine the matter; and at laſt, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be abſolved from their vows, and were diſmiſſed from the obligation of a religious life, and required to go in mens habits. One of them was a valet de chambre to a Roman Marquis when I was there. I heard of this matter only two days before I left Rome, ſo that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it ſo extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to ſo curious an inquirer into nature.

And ſince I am upon the ſubject of the changes that have been made in nature, I ſhall add one of another ſort, that I examined while I was at Geneva. There is a miniſter of St Gervais, Mr Gody, who hath a daughter that is now ſixteen years old. Her nurſe had an extraordinary thickneſs of hearing. At a year old the child ſpoke all thoſe little words that children begin uſually to learn at that age, but ſhe made no progreſs; yet this was not obſerved till it was too late: and as ſhe grew to be two years old, they perceived then that ſhe had loſt her hearing, and was ſo deaf, that ever ſince, though ſhe hears great noiſes, yet ſhe hears nothing that one can ſpeak to her. It ſeems, while the milk of her nurſe was more abundant, and that the child ſucked more moderately the firſt year, thoſe humours in the blood and milk had not that effect on her that appeared after ſhe came to ſuck

more violently; and that her nurſe's milk, being in leſs quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that vapour that occaſioned the deafneſs. But this child hath, by obſerving the motions of the mouths and lips of others, acquired ſo many words, that out of theſe ſhe hath formed a ſort of jargon, in which ſhe can hold converſation whole days with thoſe that can ſpeak her own language. I could underſtand ſome of her words, but could not comprehend a period; for it ſeemed to be a confuſed noiſe. She knows nothing that is ſaid to her, unleſs ſhe ſeeth the motion of their mouths that ſpeak to her; ſo that, in the night, when it is neceſſary to ſpeak to her, they muſt light a candle. Only one thing appeared the ſtrangeſt part of the whole narration: ſhe hath a ſiſter, with whom ſhe has practiſed her language more than with any other; and in the night, by laying her hand on her ſiſter's mouth, ſhe can perceive by that what ſhe ſays, and ſo can diſcourſe with her in the night. It is true, her mother told me, that this did not go far; and that ſhe found out only ſome ſhort period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long. Thus this young woman, without any pains taken on her, hath merely by a natural ſagacity found out a method of holding diſcourſe, that doth in a great meaſure leſſen the miſery of her deafneſs. I examined this matter critically; but only the ſiſter was not preſent, ſo that I could not ſee how the converſation paſſed between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning Rome, I cannot hinder myſelf from giving you an account of a converſation that I had with one of the moſt celebrated perſons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the credit that the order of the Jeſuits had every where. It was ſaid, that *all the world miſtruſted them*; and yet, by a ſtrange ſort of contradiction, *all the world truſted them*. And though

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it was well known that every Jeſuit was truer to the intereſts of his order than he could be to the intereſts of any prince whatſoever; yet thoſe princes that would be very careful not to ſuffer ſpies to come into their courts, or into their councils, ſuffered thoſe ſpies to come into their breaſts and conſciences: and though princes were not generally very tender in thoſe parts, yet as they had often as much guilt, ſo they had ſometimes as much fear as other people, which a dexterous ſpy knew well how to manage. Upon which that perſon, that pretended to be a zealous Catholic, added, that for their part they conſidered only the character that the church gave to a prieſt; and if the church qualified him to do the functions of a prieſt, they thought it very needleſs to inquire after other perſonal qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine: on the contrary, they thought it was ſo much the better to have to do with a poor ignorant prieſt; for then they had to do only with the church, and not with the man. Purſuant to this, that perſon's confeſſor was the greateſt and the moſt notorious blockhead that could be found. And when they were aſked, *Why they made uſe of ſo weak a man?* they anſwered, *Becauſe they could not find a weaker:* and whenever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a groom or a footman that got into prieſts orders, they would certainly make uſe of him. For they would aſk counſel of a friend; but they knew no other uſe of a confeſſor, but to confeſs to him, and to receive abſolution from him; and, in ſo doing, they pretended they acted as became true Catholics, that conſidered only the power of the church in the prieſt, without regarding any thing elſe.

So far have I entertained you with the ſhort ramble that I made, which was too ſhort to deſerve the name of travelling; and therefore the

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inquiries or obſervations that I could make, muſt be received with the abatement that ought to be made for ſo ſhort a ſtay: and all will be of a piece, when the remarks are as ſlight as the abode I made in the places through which I paſt was ſhort. As I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, ſo, if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I ſaw and knew to be true, or that I had from ſuch hands that I have very good reaſon to believe it. And I fancy, that the things which made the greateſt impreſſion on myſelf, will be acceptably received by you; to whom, as, upon many accounts, I owe all the expreſſions of eſteem and gratitude that I can ever pay; ſo I had a more particular reaſon that determined me to give you ſo full an account of all that I ſaw and obſerved: for as you were pleaſed at parting, to do me the honour, to deſire me to communicate to you ſuch things as appeared moſt remarkable to me; ſo I found ſuch a vaſt advantage in many places, but more particularly at Venice, Rome, and Naples, by the happineſs I have of being known to you, and of being ſo far conſidered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your perſon and ſtudies, to thoſe in whom your curious diſcoveries had kindled that eſteem for you, which all the world payeth both to you and to your immortal inquiries into nature, which are among the peculiar bleſſings of this age, and that are read with no leſs care and pleaſure in Italy than in England. This was ſo well received, that I found the great advantage of this honour I did myſelf in aſſuming the glorious title of one of your friends; and I owe a great part of that diſtinction which I met with to this favourable character that I gave myſelf: ſo that, if I made any progreſs in the inquiries that ſo ſhort a ſtay could enable one to make,

I owe it in ſo peculiar a manner to you, that this return that I make is but a very ſmall part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the laſt moment of my life.

Rome, Dec. 8. 1685.

LETTER V.

SIR,

I Thought I had made ſo full a point at the concluſion of my laſt letter, that I ſhould not have given you the trouble of reading any more letters of the volume of the former: but new ſcenes and new matter offering themſelves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I engage you again to two or three hours reading.

From Civita Vecchia I came to Marſeilles, where, if there were a road as ſafe as the harbour is covered, and if the harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the moſt important places in the world. All is ſo well defended, that it is, with reſpect either to ſtorms or enemies, the ſecureſt port that can be ſeen any where. The freedoms of this place, though it is now at the mercy of the citadel, are ſuch, and its ſituation draweth ſo much trade to it, that there one ſeeth another appearance of wealth than I found in any town of France; and there is a new ſtreet lately built there, that, for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeneſs of the ſtreet, is the nobleſt I ever ſaw. There is in that port a perpetual heat; and the ſun was ſo ſtrong in the Chriſtmas week, that I was often driven off the key. I made a tour from thence through Provence, Languedoc, and

Dauphiné. I will offer you no account of Niſmes, nor of the amphitheatre in it, or the Pont du Gar near it; which, as they are ſtupendious things, ſo they are ſo copiouſly deſcribed by many, and are ſo generally known to the Engliſh nation, that if you have never gone that way yourſelf, yet you muſt needs have received ſo particular a relation of them from thoſe that have ſeen them on their way to Montpelier, that I judge it needleſs to enlarge upon them: nor will I ſay any thing of the ſoil, the towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have a much ſtronger inclination to ſay ſomewhat concerning the perſecution which I ſaw in its utmoſt rage and fury, and of which I could give you many inſtances, that are ſo much beyond all the common meaſures of barbarity and cruelty, that I confeſs they ought not to be believed, unleſs I could give more poſitive proofs of them than are fitting now to be brought forth: and the particulars that I could tell you are ſuch, that if I ſhould relate them with the neceſſary circumſtances of time, place, and perſons, theſe might be ſo fatal to many that are yet in the power of their enemies, that my regard to them reſtrains me. In ſhort, I do not think that in any age there ever was ſuch a violation of all that is ſacred, either with relation to God or man; and what I ſaw and knew there from the firſt hand, hath ſo confirmed all the ideas that I had taken from books of the cruelty of that religion, that I hope the impreſſion that this hath made upon me ſhall never end but with my life. The applauſes that the whole clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many panegyrics that are already writ upon it, of which, beſides the more pompous ones that appear at Paris, there are numbers writ by ſmaller authors in every town of any note there; and the ſermons, that are all flights of

flattery upon this ſubject, are ſuch evident demonſtrations of their ſenſe of this matter, that what is now on foot may be well termed, *the act of the whole clergy of France*; which yet hath been hitherto eſteemed the moſt moderate part of the Roman communion. If any are more moderate than others, and have not ſo far laid off the human nature, as to go in entirely into thoſe bloody practices; yet they dare not own it, but whiſper it in ſecret, as if it were half treaſon: but for the greater part, they do not only magnify all that is done, but they animate even the dragoons to higher degrees of rage. And there was ſuch a heat ſpread over all the country on this occaſion, that one could not go into any ordinary, or mix in any promiſcuous converſation, without finding ſuch effects of it, that it was not eaſy for ſuch as were touched with the leaſt degree of compaſſion for the miſeries that the poor Proteſtants ſuffered, to be a witneſs to the inſultings that they muſt meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in Italy; and it is true, there were not any public rejoicings upon it at Rome, no indulgencies nor *Te Deums* were heard of. And the Spaniſh faction being ſo prevalent there, it is not ſtrange if a courſe of proceedings that is without an example was ſet forth by all that were of that intereſt in its proper colours; of which I met with ſome inſtances myſelf; and could not but ſmile, to ſee ſome of the Spaniſh faction ſo far forget their courts of inquiſition, as to argue againſt the converſions by dragoons as a reproach to the Catholic religion. Yet the Pope was of another mind: for the Duke d'Eſtrée gave him an account of the King's proceedings in this matter very copiouſly, as he himſelf related it; upon which the Pope approved all, and expreſſed a great ſatisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter;

ter; and the Pope added, that he found ſome Cardinals (as I remember the Duke d'Eſtrée ſaid too) were not pleaſed with it, and had taken the liberty to cenſure it; but the Pope ſaid they were to blame. The Duke d'Eſtrée did not name the two Cardinals, though he ſaid he believed he knew who they were: and it is very likely that Cardinal Pio was one; for I was told that he ſpoke freely enough of this matter. I muſt take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not ſee that the French King is to be ſo much blamed in this matter, as his religion; which, without queſtion, obligeth him to extirpate heretics, and not to keep his faith with them: ſo that, inſtead of cenſuring him, I muſt only lament his being bred up in a religion that doth certainly oblige him to diveſt himſelf of humanity, and to violate his faith, whenſoever the cauſe of his church, and his religion require it: or if there is any thing in this conduct that cannot be entirely juſtified from the principles of that religion, it is this, that he doth not put the heretics to death out of hand; but forceth them, by all the extremities poſſible, to ſign an abjuration, that all the world muſt needs ſee is done againſt their conſciences; and this being the only end of their miſeries, thoſe that would think any ſort of death a happy concluſion of their ſufferings, ſeeing no proſpect of ſuch a glorious iſſue out of their trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingering deaths, of which they ſee no end, to make *ſhipwreck of the faith.* This appearance of mercy, in not putting men to death, doth truly verify the character that Solomon giveth of the tender mercies of the wicked, that *they are cruel.*

But I will ſtop here, though it is not eaſy to retire from ſo copious a ſubject; that as it affordeth ſo much matter, ſo upon many accounts raiſeth a heat of thought that is not eaſily governed. I will

now lead you to a ſcene that giveth leſs paſſion.

I paſſed the winter at Geneva with more ſatisfaction than I had thought it was poſſible for me to have found any where out of England, though that received great allays from the moſt lamentable ſtories that we had every day from France. But *there is a ſorrow by which the heart is made better.* I ought to make the moſt public acknowledgments poſſible for the extraordinary civilities that I met with in my own particular; but that is too low a ſubject to entertain you with. That which pleaſed me moſt was of a more public nature. Before I left Geneva, the number of the Engliſh there was ſuch, that I found we could make a ſmall congregation, for we were twelve or fourteen. So I addreſſed myſelf to the council of *twenty-five*, for liberty to have our own worſhip in our own language, according to the Engliſh liturgy. This was immediately granted in ſo obliging a manner, that as there was not one perſon that made any exception to it, ſo they ſent one of their body to me, to let me know, that in caſe our number ſhould grow to be ſo great that it were fit for us to aſſemble in a church, they would grant us one which had been done in Queen Mary's reign; but till then, we might hold our aſſemblies as we thought fit. So, after that time, during the reſt of my ſtay there, we had every Sunday our devotions according to the common prayer morning and evening; and at the evening-prayer I preached in a room that was indeed too large for our ſmall company: but there being a conſiderable number in Geneva that underſtand Engliſh, and in particular ſome of the profeſſors and miniſters, we had a great many ſtrangers that met with us; and the laſt Sunday I gave the ſacrament according to the way of the church of England; and upon this occaſion I found a general joy in the town for this, that I

had given them an opportunity of expreſſing the reſpect they had for our church. And as in their public prayers they always prayed for the churches of Great Britain, as well as for the King; ſo in private diſcourſe they ſhewed all poſſible eſteem for our conſtitutions: and they ſpoke of the unhappy diviſions among us, and of the ſeparation that was made from us upon the account of our government and ceremonies, with great regret and diſlike. I ſhall name to you only two of their Profeſſors, that as they are men of great diſtinction, ſo they were the perſons with whom I converſed the moſt. The one is Mr Turretin, a man of great learning, that, by his indefatigable ſtudy and labour, has much worn out and waſted his ſtrength, amidſt all the affluence of a great plenty of fortune to which he was born. One diſcerns in him all the modeſty of an humble and mortified temper, and of an active and fervent charity, proportioned to his abundance, or rather beyond it: and there is in him ſuch a melting zeal for religion as the preſent conjuncture calls for, with all the ſeriouſneſs of piety and devotion; which ſhews itſelf both in private converſation, and in his moſt edifying ſermons, by which he enters deep into the conſciences of his hearers. The other is Mr Tronchin, a man of a ſtrong head, and of a clear and correct judgment, who has all his thoughts well digeſted; his converſation has an engaging charm in it, that cannot be reſiſted: he is a man of extraordinary virtue, and of a readineſs to oblige and ſerve all perſons, that has ſcarce any meaſures; his ſermons have a ſublimity in them that ſtrikes the hearer, as well as it edifies him; his thoughts are noble, and his eloquence is maſculine and exact, and has all the majeſty of the chair in it, tempered with all the ſoftneſs of perſuaſion; ſo that he not only convinces his hearers, but ſubdues them, and triumphs over

them. In ſuch company it was no wonder if time ſeemed to go off too faſt; ſo that I left Geneva with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the iſle of Britain.

From Geneva I went a ſecond time through Switzerland to Baſil. At Avanche I ſaw the noble fragments of a great Roman work, which ſeems to have been the portico to ſome temple. The heads of the pillars are about four foot ſquare, of the Ionic order. The temple hath been dedicated to Neptune, or ſome ſea-god: for on the fragments of the architrave, which are very beautiful, there are dolphins and ſea-horſes in bas reliefs; and the neighbourhood of the place to the lakes of Iverdun and Morat maketh this more evident. There is alſo a pillar ſtanding up in its full height, or rather the corner of a building, in which one ſeeth the remains of a regular architecture in two ranks of pillars. If the ground near this were carefully ſearched, no doubt it would diſcover more remains of that fabric. Not far from this is Morat; and a little on this ſide of it is a chapel full of the bones of the Burgundians that were killed by the Switzers, when this place was beſieged by the famous Charles Duke of Burgundy, who loſt a great army before it, that was entirely cut off by the beſieged. The inſcription is very extraordinary, eſpecially for that age: for the bones being ſo piled up, that the chapel is quite filled with them, the inſcription bears, that Charles Duke of Burgundy's army having beſieged Morat, *Hoc ſui monumentum reliquit*, "had left that monument behind it." It cannot but ſeem ſtrange to one that views Morat, to imagine how it was poſſible for a town ſo ſituated, and ſo ſlightly fortified, to hold out againſt ſo powerful a prince, and ſo great an army, that brought cannon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and Baſil, except that I ſtaid ſome time

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at Bern, and knew it better; and at this ſecond time it was, that my Lord Advoyer d'Erlach gave order to ſhew me the original records of the famous proceſs of the four Dominicans: upon which I have retouched the letter that I writ to you laſt year; ſo that I now ſend it to you with the corrections and enlargements that this ſecond ſtay at Bern gave me occaſion to make.

Baſil is the town of the greateſt extent of all Switzerland, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The Rhine maketh a crook before it; and the town is ſituated on a riſing ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye when one is on the bridge, for it looketh like a theatre. Little Baſil, on the other ſide of the Rhine, is almoſt a fourth part of the whole. The town is ſurrounded with a wall and ditch; but it is expoſed on ſo many ſides, and hath now ſo dreadful a neighbour within a quarter of a league of it, the fort of Huningen, that it hath nothing to truſt to, humanly ſpeaking, but its union with the other cantons. The maxims of this canton have hindered its being better peopled than it is. The advantages of the burgherſhip are ſuch, that the citizens will not ſhare them with ſtrangers, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the laſt war, that Alſatia was ſo often the ſeat of both armies, Baſil having then a neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this maxim. And it were a great happineſs to all the cantons, if they could have different degrees of burgherſhip, ſo that the lower degrees might be given to ſtrangers for their encouragement to come and live among them; and the higher degrees, which qualify men for the advantageous employments of the ſtate, might be reſerved for the ancient families of the natives. Baſil is divided into ſixteen companies, and every one of theſe hath

four

four members in the little council, ſo that it conſiſteth of ſixty-four: but of thoſe four, two are choſen by the company itſelf, who are called the *maſters*, and the other two are choſen by the council out of the company. And thus, as there are two ſorts of counſellors choſen in thoſe different manners, there are alſo two chief magiſtrates. There are two burgomaſters that reign by turns, and two zunftmaſters that have alſo their turns, and all is for life; and the laſt are the heads of the companies, like the Roman tribunes of the people. The fabric of the ſtadt-houſe is ancient. There is very good painting in freſco upon the walls. One piece hath given much offence to the Papiſts, though they have no reaſon to blame the reformation for it, ſince it was done ſeveral years before it, in 1510. It is a repreſentation of the day of judgment; and, after ſentence given, the devil is repreſented driving many before him to hell; and, among theſe, there is a Pope, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics. But it is believed, that the council, which ſat ſo long in this place, acting ſo vigorouſly againſt the Pope, engaged the town into ſuch a hatred of the papacy, that this might give the riſe to this repreſentation. The more learned in the town aſcribe the beginning of the cuſtom in Baſil, of the clocks anticipating the time a full hour, to the ſitting of the council; and they ſay, that, in order to the advancing of buſineſs, and the ſhortening their ſeſſions, they ordered their clocks to be ſet forward an hour; which continueth to this day. The cathedral is a great old Gothic building; the chamber where the council ſat, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary room. Eraſmus's tomb is only a plain inſcription upon a great braſs plate. There are a great many of Holben's pictures here, who was a native of Baſil, and was recommended by Eraſmus to King Henry VIII. The two beſt are a *corpo*,

or

or Chriſt dead; which is certainly one of the beſt pictures in the world. There is another piece of his in the ſtadt-houſe (for this is in the public library) of about three or four foot ſquare, in which, in ſix ſeveral cantons, the ſeveral parts of our Saviour's paſſion are repreſented with a life and beauty that cannot be enough admired. It is valued at ten thouſand crowns. It is on wood; but hath that freſhneſs of colour ſtill on it, that ſeems peculiar to Holben's pencil. There is alſo a dance that he painted on the walls of an houſe where he uſed to drink, that is ſo worn out, that very little is now to be ſeen, except ſhapes and poſtures; but theſe ſhew the exquiſiteneſs of the hand. There is another longer dance, that runneth all along the ſide of the convent of the Auguſtinians, which is now the French church, and that is *death's dance*. There are above threeſcore figures in it at full length, of perſons of all ranks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meaneſt ſorts of people, and of all ages and profeſſions, to whom death appeareth in an inſolent and ſurpriſing poſture: and the ſeveral paſſions that they expreſs are ſo well laid out, that this was certainly a great deſign. But the freſco being expoſed to the air, this was ſo worn out ſome time ago, that they ordered the beſt painter they had to lay new colours on it; but this is ſo ill done, that one had rather ſee the dead ſhadows of Holben's pencil, than this coarſe work. There is in Baſil a gunſmith, that maketh wind-guns; and he ſhewed me one, that as it received at once air for ten ſhot, ſo it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends was his own invention, that he can diſcharge all the air that can be parcelled out in ten ſhot, at once, to give a home blow. I confeſs thoſe are terrible inſtruments; and it ſeems the intereſt of mankind to forbid them quite, ſince they can be employed to aſſaſſinate

perſons

perſons ſo dexterouſly, that neither noiſe nor fire will diſcover from what hand the ſhot cometh. The library of Baſil is by much the beſt in all Switzerland. There is a fine collection of medals in it, and a very handſome library of manuſcripts. The room is noble, and diſpoſed in a very good method. Their manuſcripts are chiefly the Latin fathers, or Latin tranſlations of the Greek fathers; ſome good Bibles. They have the goſpel in Greek capitals, but they are viciouſly writ in many places. There is an infinite number of the writers of the darker ages, and there are legends and ſermons without number. All the books that were in the ſeveral monaſteries at the time of the reformation, were carefully preſerved; and they believe, that the Biſhops who ſat here in the council brought with them a great many manuſcripts, which they never carried away. Among their manuſcripts, I ſaw four of Huſs's letters that he writ to the Bohemians the day before his death, which are very devout, but exceſſively ſimple. The manuſcripts of this library are far more numerous than thoſe of Bern, which were gathered by Bongarſius, and left by him to the public library there. They are indeed very little conſidered there, and are the worſt kept that ever I ſaw. But it is a noble collection of all the ancient Latin authors. They have ſome few of the beſt of the Roman times, writ in great characters; and there are many that are ſeven or eight hundred years old. There is in Baſil one of the beſt collections of medals that I ever ſaw in private hands, together with a noble library; in which there are manuſcripts of good antiquity that belong to the family of Feſch, and that go from one learned man of the family to another: for this inheritance can only paſs to a man of learning; and when the family produceth none, then it is to go to the public. In Baſil, as the ſeveral

veral companies have been more or leſs ſtrict in admitting ſome to a freedom in the company that have not been of the trade, ſo they retain their privileges to this day. For in ſuch companies that have once received ſuch a number that have not been of the trade as grew to be the majority, the trade hath never been able to recover their intereſt. But ſome companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but thoſe that were of the trade; ſo that they retain their intereſt ſtill in government. Of theſe the butchers were named for one; ſo that there are always four butchers in the council. The great council conſiſteth of two hundred and forty; but they have no power left them, and they are only aſſembled upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, when the little council thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but ſix bailiages that belong to Baſil, which are not employments of great advantage; for the beſt of them doth afford to the bailiff only a thouſand livres a-year. They reckon that there are in Baſil three thouſand men that can bear arms, and that they could raiſe four thouſand more out of the canton; ſo that the town is almoſt the half of this ſtate; and the whole maketh thirty pariſhes. There are eighteen Profeſſors in this univerſity; and there is a ſpirit of a more free and generous learning ſtirring there, than I ſaw in all thoſe parts. There is a great decency of habit in Baſil; and the garb, both of the counſellors, miniſters, and profeſſors, their ſtiff ruffs, and their long beards, have an air that is auguſt. The appointments are but ſmall; for counſellors, miniſters, and profeſſors, have but an hundred crowns a-piece. It is true, many miniſters are profeſſors; ſo this mendeth the matter a little; but perhaps it would go better with the ſtate of learning there, if they had but half the number of profeſſors, and if thoſe were a little

better

better encouraged. No where is the rule of St Paul (of womens having on their heads the badge of the authority under which they are brought, which, by a phraſe that is not extraordinary, he calleth *power*) better obſerved than at Baſil: for all the married women go to church with a coif on their heads, that is ſo folded, that as it cometh down ſo far as to cover their eyes, ſo another folding covereth alſo their mouth and chin, ſo that nothing but their noſe appears; and then all turns backward in a folding that hangeth down to their mid-leg. This is always white. So that there is ſuch a ſight of white heads in their churches, as cannot be found any where elſe. The unmarried women wear hats turned up in the brims before and behind; and the brims of the ſides, being about a foot broad, ſtand out far on both hands. This faſhion is alſo at Straſburg, and is worn there alſo by the married women.

I mentioned formerly the conſtant danger to which this place is expoſed from the neighbourhood of Hunningen. I was told, that at firſt it was pretended, that the French King intended to build only a ſmall fort there; and it was believed, that one of the burgomaſters of Baſil, who was thought not only the wiſeſt man of that canton, but of all Switzerland, was gained, to lay all men aſleep, and to aſſure them, that the ſuffering this fort to be built ſo near them, was of no importance to them: but now they ſee too late their fatal error; for the place is great, and will hold a garriſon of three or four thouſand men. It is a pentagon; only the ſide towards the Rhine is ſo large, that if it went round on that ſide, I believe it muſt have been an hexagon. The baſtions have all orillons; and in the middle of them there is a void ſpace not filled up with earth, where there is a magazine built ſo thick in the vault, that it is

proof

proof againſt bombs. The ramparts are ſtrongly faced. There is a large ditch; and before the cortin, in the middle of the ditch, there runs all along a horn-work, which is but ten or twelve foot high; and from the bottom of the rampart there goeth a a vault to this horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence. Before this horn-work there is a half-moon, with this that is peculiar to thoſe new fortifications, that there is a ditch that cuts the half-moon in an angle, and maketh one half-moon within another. Beyond that there is a counterſcarp about twelve foot high above the water, with a covered way, and a glacis deſigned, though not executed. There is alſo a great horn-work beſides all this, which runs out a huge way with its outworks towards Baſil. There is alſo a bridge laid over the Rhine; and there being an iſland in the river where the bridge is laid, there is a horn-work that filleth and fortifieth it. The buildings in this fort are beautiful, and the ſquare can hold above four thouſand men. The works are not yet quite finiſhed; but, when all is completed, this will be one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe. There is a cavalier on one or two of the baſtions, and there are half-moons before the baſtions. So that the Switzers ſee their danger now when it is not eaſy to redreſs it. This place is ſituated in a great plain, ſo that it is commanded by no riſing ground on any ſide of it. I made a little tour into Alſace, as far as Mountbelliard. The ſoil is extreme rich; but it hath been ſo long a frontier-country, and is by conſequence ſo ill peopled, that it is in many places overgrown with woods. In one reſpect it is fit to be the ſeat of war; for it is full of iron works, which bring a great deal of money into the country. I ſaw nothing peculiar in the iron works there, except that the ſides of the great bellows were not of leather, but of wood; which ſaves

much money: ſo I will not ſtand to deſcribe them. The river Rhine, all from Baſil to Spire, is ſo low, and is on both ſides ſo covered with woods, that one that cometh down in a boat hath no ſight of the country. The river runneth ſometimes with ſuch a force, that nothing but ſuch woods could preſerve its banks; and even theſe are not able to ſave them quite; for the trees are often waſhed away by the very roots, ſo that in many places thoſe trees lie along in the channel of the river. It hath been alſo thought a ſort of a fortification to both ſides of the river, to have it thus faced with woods; which maketh the paſſing of men dangerous, when they muſt march for ſome time after their paſſage through a defile. The firſt night from Baſil we came to Briſac, which is a poor and miſerable town; but it is a noble fortification, and hath on the weſt ſide of the river, over which a bridge is laid, a regular fort of four or five baſtions. The town of Briſac riſeth all on a hill, which is a conſiderable height. There were near it two hills; the one is taken within the fortification, and the other is ſo well levelled with the ground, that one cannot ſo much as find out where it was. All the ground about for many miles is plain; ſo that from the hill, as from a cavalier, one can ſee exactly well, eſpecially with the help of a perſpective, all the motions of an enemy in caſe of a ſiege. The fortification is of a huge compaſs, above a French league, indeed almoſt a German league. The baſtions are quite filled with earth; they are faced with brick, and have a huge broad ditch full of water round them. The counterſcarp, the covered way, which hath a paliſade within a parapet, and the glacis, are all well executed. There is a half-moon before every cortin; the baſtions have no orillons, except one or two; and the cortins are ſo diſpoſed, that a good part of them defendeth

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the baſtion. The garriſon of this place in time of war muſt needs be eight or ten thouſand men. There hath not been much done of late to this place; only the ditch is ſo adjuſted, that it is all defended by the flanks of the baſtions. But the nobleſt place on the Rhine is Straſburg. It is a town of a huge extent, and hath a double wall and ditch all round it: the inner wall is old, and of no ſtrength; nor is the outward wall very good. It hath a fauſſe-braye, and is faced with brick twelve or fifteen foot above the ditch. The counterſcarp is in an ill condition, ſo that the town was not in caſe to make any long reſiſtance; but it is now ſtrongly fortified. There is a citadel built on that ſide that goeth towards the Rhine, that is much ſuch a fort as that of Hunningen; and on the ſide of the citadel towards the bridge, there is a great horn-work that runs out a great way, with outworks belonging to it. There are alſo ſmall forts at the two chief gates that lead to Alſace; by which the city is ſo bridled, that theſe can cut off all its communication with the country about in caſe of a revolt. The bridge is alſo well fortified; there are alſo forts in ſome iſlands in the Rhine, and ſome redoubts. So that all round this place there is one of the greateſt fortifications that is in Europe.

Hitherto the capitulation with relation to religion hath been well kept; and there is ſo ſmall a number of new converts, and theſe are for the greateſt part ſo inconſiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the new-faſhioned miſſionaries *à la dragonne*, the old ones are not like to have ſo great a harveſt there as they promiſed themſelves, though they are Jeſuits. The Lutherans, for the greateſt part, retain their animoſities almoſt to an equal degree both againſt Papiſts and Calviniſts. I was in

their church; where, if the muſic of their pſalms pleaſed me much, the irreverence in ſinging (it being free to keep on or put off the hat) did appear very ſtrange to me. The churches are full of pictures, in which the chief paſſages of our Saviour's life are repreſented; but there is no ſort of religious reſpect paid them. They bow when they name the Holy Ghoſt, as well as at the name of Jeſus: but they have not the ceremonies that the Lutherans of Saxony uſe; which Mr Bebel, their Profeſſor of Divinity, ſaid was a great happineſs; for a ſimilitude in outward rites might diſpoſe the ignorant people to change too eaſily. I found ſeveral good people, both of the Lutheran miniſters, and others, acknowledge, that there was ſuch a corruption of morals ſpread over the whole city, that as they had juſtly drawn down on their heads the plague of the loſs of their liberty, ſo this having touched them ſo little, they had reaſon to look for ſeverer ſtrokes. One ſeeth in the ruin of this city, what a miſchievous thing the popular pride of a free city is. They fancied they were able to defend themſelves; and ſo they refuſed to let an Imperial garriſon come within their town: for if they had received only five hundred men, as that ſmall number would not have been able to have oppreſſed their liberties; ſo it would have ſo ſecured the town, that the French could not have beſieged it, without making war on the empire. But the town thought this was a diminution of their freedom, and ſo choſe rather to pay a garriſon of three thouſand ſoldiers; which, as it exhauſted their revenue, and brought them under great taxes, ſo it proved too weak for their defence when the French army came before them. The town begins to ſink in its trade, notwithſtanding the great circulation of money that the expence of the fortifications hath brought to it: but when that

is at an end, it will ſink more ſenſibly; for it is impoſſible for a place of trade, that is to have always eight or ten thouſand ſoldiers in it, to continue long in a flouriſhing ſtate. There was a great animoſity between two of the chief families of the town, Dietrick and Obrecht. The former was the burgomaſter, and was once almoſt run down by a faction that the other had raiſed againſt him; but he turned the tide, and got ſuch an advantage againſt Obrecht, who had writ ſomewhat againſt the conduct of their affairs, that he was condemned, and beheaded, for writing libels againſt the government. His ſon is a learned man, and was Profeſſor of the Civil Law; and he, to have his turn of revenge againſt Dietrick, went to Paris laſt ſummer; and that he might make his court the better, changed his religion. Dietrick had been always looked on as one of the chief of the French faction, though he had been at firſt an Imperialiſt; ſo it was thought that he ſhould have been well rewarded: yet it was expected, that, to make himſelf capable of that, he ſhould have changed his religion. But he was an ancient man, and would not purchaſe his court at that rate; ſo, without any reaſon given, and againſt the expreſs words of the capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland provinces of France, (as I remember it was Limoſin). And thus he that had been thought the chief cauſe of this town's falling under the power of the French, is the firſt man that hath felt the effects of it. The library here is conſiderable. The caſe is a great room, very well contrived; for it is divided into cloſets all over the body of the room, which runs about theſe as a gallery; and in theſe cloſets, all round, there are the books of the ſeveral profeſſions lodged apart. There is one for manuſcripts, in which there are ſome of conſiderable antiquity. I need ſay nothing to you of

the vaſt height, and the Gothic architecture of the ſteeple, and of the great church, nor of the curious clock, where there is ſo vaſt a variety of motions; for theſe are well known. The bas reliefs upon the tops of the great pillars of the church are not ſo viſible, but they are ſurpriſing; for this being a fabric of three or four hundred years old, it is very ſtrange to ſee ſuch repreſentations as are there. There is a proceſſion repreſented, in which a hog carrieth the pot with the holy water, and aſſes and hogs in prieſtly veſtments follow to make up the proceſſion. There is alſo an aſs ſtanding before an altar, as if he were going to conſecrate; and one carrieth a caſe with reliques, within which one ſeeth a fox; and the trains of all that go in this proceſſion are ſupported by monkies. This ſeems to have been made in hatred of the monks, whom the ſecular clergy abhorred at that time; becauſe they had drawn the wealth and the following of the world after them; and they had expoſed the ſecular clergy ſo much for their ignorance, that it is probable, after ſome ages the monks falling under the ſame contempt, the ſecular clergy took their turn in expoſing them in ſo laſting a repreſentation to the ſcorn of the world. There is alſo in the pulpit a nun cut in wood lying along, and a frier lying near her with his breviary open before him, and his hand under the nun's habit, and the nun's feet are ſhod with iron ſhoes. I confeſs I did not look for theſe things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble friend Mr Ablancourt viewed them with great exactneſs while he was the French King's reſident at Straſburg, in the company of one of the magiſtrates that waited on him; and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent ſincerity know how much is due, that I give you this particular.

From Straſburg we went down the Rhine to Philipſburg,

Philipſburg, which lieth at a quarter of a mile's diſtance from the river. It is but a ſmall place, and the baſtions are but little. There is a ravelin before almoſt all the cortins; and there lie ſuch marſhes all round it, that in theſe lieth the chief ſtrength of the place. The French had begun a great crown-work on the ſide that lieth to the Rhine, and had caſt out a horn-work beyond that; but, by all that appears, it ſeems they intended to continue that crown-work quite round the town, and to make a ſecond wall and ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the place vaſtly, and made a compaſs capable enough to lodge above ten thouſand men: and this would have been ſo terrible a neighbour to the Palatinate and all Franconia, that it was a maſterpiece in Charles-Lewis, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the empire into this ſiege. He ſaw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the French; ſo that he took great care to have the Duke of Lorrain's camp ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary during the ſiege, that the army lay not under the leaſt uneaſineſs all the while. From thence, in three hours, we came to Spire; which is ſo naked a town, that, if it were attacked, it could not make the leaſt reſiſtance. The town is neither great nor rich, and is ſubſiſted chiefly by the Imperial chamber that ſitteth here; though there is a conſtant diſpute between the town and the chamber concerning privileges: for the government of the town pretends, that the judges of the chamber, as they are private men, and out of the court of judicature, are ſubject to them; and ſo about a year ago they put one of the judges in priſon. On the other hand, the judges pretend that their perſons are ſacred. It was the conſideration of the chamber that procured to the town the neutrality that they enjoyed all the laſt war. I thought to have

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ſeen the forms of this court, and the way of laying up and preſerving their records; but the court was not then ſitting. The building, the halls and chambers of this famous court, are mean beyond imagination; and look liker the halls of ſome ſmall company, than of ſo great a body: and I could not ſee the places where they lay up their archives. The government of the city is all Lutheran: but not only the cathedral is in the hands of the Biſhop and Chapter, but there are likewiſe ſeveral convents of both ſexes; and the Jeſuits have alſo a college there. There is little remarkable in the cathedral, which is a huge building in the Gothic manner, of the worſt ſort. The tombs of many Emperors that lie buried there are remarkable for their meanneſs, they being only great flag-ſtones laid on ſmall ſtone balliſters of a foot and a half high. There are alſo the marks of a ridiculous fable concerning Saint Bernard, which is too fooliſh to be related; yet, ſince they have taken ſuch pains to preſerve the remembrance of it, I ſhall venture to write it. There are from the gate, all along the nave of the church, up to the ſteps that go up to the choir, four round plates of braſs, above a foot diameter, and at the diſtance of thirty feet one from another, laid in the pavement. On the firſt of theſe is engraven *O Clemens*; on the ſecond, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*. The laſt is about thirty feet diſtant from a ſtatue of the virgin. So they ſay, that St Bernard came up the whole length of the church at four ſteps, and that thoſe four plates were laid where he ſtepped; and that at every ſtep he pronounced the word that is engraven on the plate; and, when he came to the laſt, the image of the virgin anſwered him, *Salve, Bernarde*: upon which he anſwered, *Let a woman keep ſilence in the church*; and that the virgin's ſtatue has kept ſilence ever ſince.

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This laſt part of the ſtory is certainly very credible. He was a man of learning that ſhewed me this; and he repeated it ſo gravely to me, that I ſaw he either believed it, or at leaſt that he had a mind to make me believe it. And I aſked him as gravely, if that was as firmly believed there? He told me, that one had lately writ a book to prove the truth of it, as I remember it was a Jeſuit. He acknowledged it was not an article of faith; ſo I was ſatisfied. There is in the cloiſter an old Gothic repreſentation of our Saviour's agony in ſtone, with a great many figures of his Apoſtles, and the company that came to ſeize him, that is not an ill ſculpture for the age in which it was made, it being ſome ages old. The Calviniſts have a church in this town, but their numbers are not conſiderable. I was told there were ſome ancient manuſcripts in the library that belongeth to the cathedral; but one of the prebendaries, to whom I addreſſed myſelf, being, according to the German cuſtom, a man of greater quality than learning, told me, he heard they had ſome ancient manuſcripts, but he knew nothing of them; and the Dean was abſent; ſo I could not ſee them, for he kept one of the keys. The Lower Palatinate is certainly one of the ſweeteſt countries of all Germany. It is a great plain till one cometh to the hills of Heidelberg; the town is ill ſituated, juſt in a bottom between two ranges of hills, yet the air is much commended. I need ſay nothing of the caſtle; nor of the prodigious wine-cellar; in which, though there is but one celebrated tun, that is ſeventeen foot high, and twenty-ſix foot long; and is built with a ſtrength more like that of the ribs of a ſhip, than the ſtaves of a tun; yet there are many other tuns of ſuch a prodigious bigneſs, that they would ſeem very extraordinary, if this vaſt one did not eclipſe them. The late Prince

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Charles-Lewis ſhewed his capacity in the peopling and ſettling this ſtate, that had been ſo entirely ruined, being for many years the ſeat of war; for in four years time he brought it to a flouriſhing condition. He raiſed the taxes as high as was poſſible, without diſpeopling his country. All mens eſtates were valued, and they were taxed at five *per cent.* of the value of their eſtates: but their eſtates were not valued to the rigour, but with ſuch abatements as have been ordinary in England in the times of ſubſidies; ſo that, when his ſon offered to bring the taxes down to two *per cent.* of the real value, the ſubjects all deſired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no prince in Germany that is more abſolute than the Elector Palatine; for he layeth on his ſubjects what taxes he pleaſeth, without being limited to any forms of government. And here I ſaw that which I had always believed to be true, that the ſubjects of Germany are only bound to their particular prince; for they ſwear allegiance ſingly to the Elector, without any reſerve for the Emperor; and in their prayers for him they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the prince is under ſome tyes to the Emperor, but the ſubjects are under none. And by this D. Fabritius, a learned and judicious Profeſſor there, explained thoſe words of Pareus's commentary on the Romans, which had reſpect only to the princes of the empire, and were quite miſunderſtood by thoſe who fancied that they favoured rebellion; for there is no place in Europe where all rebellious doctrine is more borne down than here. I found a great ſpirit of moderation, with relation to thoſe ſmall controverſies that have occaſioned ſuch heat in the Proteſtant churches, reigning in the univerſity there; which is in a great meaſure owing to the prudence, the learning, and the happy temper of mind of D. Fabritius and D. Miek; who, as they

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were long in England, ſo they have that generous largeneſs of ſoul, which is the noble ornament of many of the Engliſh divines. Prince Charles-Lewis ſaw, that Manheim was marked out by nature to be the moſt important place of all his territory, it being ſituated in the point where the Neckar falleth into the Rhine; ſo that thoſe two rivers defending it on two ſides, it was capable of a good fortification. It is true, the air is not thought wholſome, and the water is not good; yet he made a fine town there, and a noble citadel, with a regular fortification about it; and he deſigned a great palace there, but he did not live to build it. He ſaw of what advantage liberty of conſcience was to the peopling of his country; ſo, as he ſuffered the Jews to come and ſettle there, he reſolved alſo not only to ſuffer the three religions tolerated by the laws of the empire to be profeſſed there, but he built a church for them all three, which he called *The church of the concord*; in which both Calviniſts, Lutherans, and Papiſts, had, in the order in which I have ſet them down, the exerciſe of their religion; and he maintained the peace of his principality ſo entirely, that there was not the leaſt diſorder occaſioned by this toleration. This indeed made him to be looked on as a prince that did not much conſider religion himſelf. He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief miniſter, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were unjuſt, if I ſhould not ſay ſomewhat to you of the princely virtues, and the celebrated probity, of the preſent Prince Elector, upon whom that dignity is devolved by the extinction of ſo many princes, that in this age compoſed the moſt numerous family of any of that rank in Europe. This prince, as he is in many reſpects an honour to the religion that he profeſſes, ſo he is in nothing more

more to be commended by thoſe who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the promiſes he made his ſubjects with relation to their religion; in which he has not (even in the ſmalleſt matters) broke in upon their eſtabliſhed laws. And though an order of men, that have turned the world upſide down, have great credit with him; yet it is hitherto viſible, that they cannot carry it ſo far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion, and to thoſe ſacred promiſes that he made his ſubjects. For he makes it appear to all the world, that he does not conſider thoſe *as ſo many words ſpoken at firſt to lay his people aſleep, which he may now explain and obſerve as he thinks fit*; but as ſo many tyes upon his conſcience and honour, which he will religiouſly obſerve. And as in the other parts of his life he has ſet a noble pattern to all the princes of Europe; ſo his exactneſs to his promiſes is that which cannot be too much commended; of which this extraordinary inſtance has been communicated to me ſince I am come into this country. The Elector had a proceſſion in his court laſt *Corpus Chriſti* day; upon which one of the miniſters of Heidelberg preached a very ſevere ſermon againſt Popery, and in particular taxed that proceſſion perhaps with greater plainneſs than diſcretion. This being brought to the Elector's ears, he ſent preſently an order to the eccleſiaſtical ſenate to ſuſpend him. That court is compoſed of ſome ſecular men, and ſome churchmen; and as the prince's authority is delegated to them, ſo they have a ſort of an Epiſcopal juriſdiction over all the clergy. This order was a ſurpriſe to them, as being a direct breach upon their laws, and the liberty of their religion: ſo they ſent a deputation to court, to let the Elector know the reaſons that hindered them from obeying his orders; which were heard with ſo much juſtice and gentleneſs,

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that the Prince, inſtead of expreſſing any diſpleaſure againſt them, recalled the order that he had ſent them. The way from Heidelberg to Francfort is, for the firſt twelve or fifteen miles, the moſt beautiful piece of ground that can be imagined: for we went under a ridge of little hills that are all covered with vines; and from them, as far as the eye can go, there is a beautiful plain of corn-fields and meadows, all ſweetly divided and incloſed with rows of trees, ſo that I fancied I was in Lombardy again; but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in Lombardy; but the hills, as they made a pleaſant inequality in the proſpect, ſo they made the air purer, and produced a pleaſant wine. The way near Darmſtadt, and all forwards to Francfort, becometh more wild and more ſandy. There is a good ſuburb on the ſouth ſide of the Maine over-againſt Francfort, which hath a very conſiderable fortification. There is a double wall and a double ditch that goeth round it; and the outward wall, as it is regularly fortified, ſo it is faced with brick to a conſiderable height. The town of Francfort is of a great extent, and ſeemed to be but about a third part leſs than Straſburg. The three religions are alſo tolerated there. And though the number of the Papiſts is very inconſiderable, yet they have the great church, which is a huge rude building; they have alſo ſeveral other churches, and ſome convents, there. There are ſeveral open ſquares for market-places, and the houſes about them look very well without. Among their archives they preſerve the original of the *bulla aurea*, which is only a great parchment writ in High Dutch, without any beauty anſwering to its title: and ſince I could not have underſtood it, I was not at the pains of deſiring to ſee it; for that is not obtained without difficulty. The Lutherans have here built a new church, called

St Katharine's, in which there is as much painting as ever I ſaw in any Popiſh church; and over the high altar there is an huge carved crucifix, as there are painted ones in other places of their church. The pulpit is extreme fine, of marble of different colours, very well poliſhed and joined. I was here at ſermon, where I underſtood nothing; but I liked one thing that I ſaw both at Straſburg and here, that at the end of prayers there was a conſiderable interval of ſilence left, before the concluſion, for all people's private devotions. In the houſe of their public diſcipline, they retain ſtill the old Roman piſtrina, or hand-mill, at which lewd women are condemned to grind; that is, to drive about the wheel that maketh the millſtones go. There is a great number of Jews there; though their two ſynagogues are very little; and by conſequence, the numbers being great, they are very naſty. I was told they were in all above twelve hundred. The women had the moſt of a tawdry embroidery of gold and ſilver about them that ever I ſaw; for they had all mantles of crape, and both about the top and the bottom there was a border above a hand's breadth of embroidery. The fortification of Francfort is conſiderable. Their ditch is very broad, and very full of water; all the baſtions have a countermine that runneth along by the brim of the ditch; but the counterſcarp is not faced with brick as the walls are, and ſo in many places it is in an ill condition. The covered way and the glacis are alſo in an ill caſe. The town is rich, and driveth a great trade, and is very pleaſantly ſituated. Not far from hence is Hockam, that yieldeth the beſt wine of thoſe parts. Since I took Francfort in my way from Heidelberg to Mentz, I could not paſs by Worms, for which I was ſorry. I had a great mind to ſee that place where Luther made his firſt appearance before the Emperor

Emperor and the diet, and, in that ſolemn audience, expreſſed an undaunted zeal for that glorious cauſe in which God made him ſuch a bleſſed inſtrument. I had another piece of curioſity on me, which will perhaps appear to you ſomewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to ſee a picture that, as I was told, is over one of the Popiſh altars there, which one would think was invented by the enemies of tranſubſtantiation, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a wind-mill; and the virgin throws Chriſt into the hopper, and he comes out at the eye of the mill all in wafers, which ſome prieſts take up to give to the people. This is ſo coarſe an emblem, that one would think it too groſs even for Laplanders; but a man that can ſwallow tranſubſtantiation itſelf, will digeſt this likewiſe. Mentz is very nobly ſituated, on a riſing ground, a little below the conjunction of the two rivers, the Rhine and the Maine. It is of too great a compaſs, and too ill peopled, to be capable of a great defence. There is a citadel upon the higheſt part of the hill, that commandeth the town; it is compaſſed about with a dry ditch that is conſiderably deep. The walls of the town are faced with brick, and regularly fortified; but the counterſcarp is not faced with brick: ſo all is in a ſad condition; and the fortification is weakeſt on that ſide where the Elector's palace is. There is one ſide of a new palace very nobly built in a regular architecture; only the Germans do ſtill retain ſomewhat of the Gothic manner. It is of a great length; and the deſign is to build quite round the court, and then it will be a very magnificent palace: only the ſtone is red; for all the quarries that are upon the Rhine, from Baſil down to Coblentz, are of red ſtone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of Mentz is an abſolute prince. His ſubjects preſent liſts of their magi-

ſtrates to him; but he is not tied to them, and may name whom he will. The ancient demeſne of the electorate is about forty thouſand crowns, but the taxes riſe to about three hundred thouſand crowns: ſo that the ſubjects here are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate. There are twelve thouſand crowns a-year given the Elector for his privy-purſe, and the ſtate bears the reſt of his whole expence. It can arm ten thouſand men; and there is a garriſon of two thouſand men in Mentz. This Elector hath three councils; one as he is Chancellor of the Empire, conſiſting of three perſons; the other two are for the policy and juſtice of his principality. He and his chapter have months by turns for the nomination of the prebends. In the month of January he names, if any die; and they chuſe in the room of ſuch as die in February; and ſo all the year round. The prebendaries, or domeheers, have about three thouſand crowns a-year a-piece. When the Elector dieth, the Emperor ſendeth one to ſee the election made; and he recommendeth one: but the canons may chuſe whom they pleaſe; and the preſent Elector was not of the Emperor's recommendation. Beſides the palace at Mentz, the Elector hath another near Francfort; which is thought the beſt that is in thoſe parts of Germany. The cathedral is a huge Gothic building. There is a great cupola in the weſt end, and there the choir ſingeth maſs. I could not learn whether this was done only becauſe the place here was of greater reception than at the eaſt end, or if any burying-place and endowment obliged them to the weſt end. Near the cathedral there is a huge chapel of great antiquity; and on the north door there are two great braſs gates, with a long inſcription; which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperor Lotharius's time. There is a vaſt number of churches in this

town,

town, but it is poor and ill inhabited. The Rhine here is almoſt half an Engliſh mile broad, and there is a bridge of boats laid over it. From Mentz, all along to Baccharach, (which ſeems to carry its name, *Bacchi ara*, from ſome famous altar that the Romans probably erected, by reaſon of the good wine that grows in the neighbourhood), there is a great number of very conſiderable villages on both ſides of the river. Here the rats-tower is ſhewed; and the people of the country do all firmly believe the ſtory of the rats eating up an Elector; and that though he fled to this iſland, where he built a ſmall high tower, they purſued him ſtill, and ſwimmed after him, and ate him up. And they told us, there were ſome of his bones to be ſeen ſtill in the tower. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked-for ſort of death, that carried off a poor labourer of the ground a few days before I left Geneva. The foot of one of his cattle, as he was plowing, went into a neſt of waſps; upon which the whole ſwarm came out, and ſet upon him that held the plough, and killed him in a very little time; and his body was prodigiouſly ſwelled with the poiſon of ſo many ſtings. But to return to the Rhine. All the way from Baccharach down to Coblentz, there are on both ſides of the river hanging grounds, or little hills, ſo laid as if many of them had been laid by art, which produce the rich Rheniſh wine. They are indeed as well expoſed to the ſun, and covered from ſtorms, as can be imagined; and the ground in thoſe hills, which are in ſome places of a conſiderable height, is ſo cultivated, that there is not an inch loſt that is capable of improvement; and this bringeth ſo much wealth into the country, that all along there is a great number of conſiderable villages. Coblentz is the ſtrongeſt place that I ſaw

of all that belong to the empire. The ſituation is noble, the Rhine running before it, and the Moſelle paſſing along the ſide of the town. It is well fortified; the ditch is large, the counterſcarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition. Both walls and counterſcarp are faced with brick; and there are ravelins before the cortins. But on the ſide of the Moſelle it is very ſlightly fortified; and there is no fort at the end of the ſtone bridge that is laid over the Moſelle, ſo that it lieth quite open on that ſide; which ſeemeth a ſtrange defect in a place of that conſequence. But though the fortifications of this place are very conſiderable, yet its chief defence lieth in the fort of Hermanſtan, which is built on the top of a very high hill that lieth on the other ſide of the Rhine, and which commandeth this place ſo abſolutely, that he who is maſter of Hermanſtan, is always maſter of Coblentz. This belongeth to the Elector of Triers, whoſe palace lieth on the eaſt ſide of the Rhine, juſt at the foot of the hill of Hermanſtan, and over-againſt the point where the Moſelle falleth into the Rhine: ſo that nothing can be more pleaſantly ſituated; only the ground begins to riſe juſt at the back of the houſe with ſo much ſteepneſs, that there is not room for gardens or walks. The houſe maketh a great ſhew upon the river; but we were told, that the apartments within were not anſwerable to the outſide. I ſay, we were told; for the German princes keep ſuch forms, that, without a great deal adoe, one cannot come within their courts, unleſs it be when they are abroad themſelves. So that we neither got within the palace at Mentz, nor this of Hermanſtan. It is but a few hours from this to Bonne, where the Elector of Colen keepeth his court. The place hath a regular fortification; the walls are faced with brick: but though the ditch, which is dry, is

pretty

pretty broad, the counterscarp is in so ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Elector is the noblest born, and the best provided of all the German clergy: for he is brother to the great Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria; and besides Colen, he hath Liege, Munster, and Hildesheim, which are all great bishopricks. He hath been also six and thirty years in the electorate. His palace is very mean, consisting but of one court; the half of which is cast into a little garden, and the wood-yard is in the very court. The lower part of the court was a stable: but he hath made an apartment here that is all furnished with pictures; where, as there are some of the hands of the greatest masters, so there are a great many foils to set these off, that are scarce good enough for sign-posts.

The Elector has a great many gold medals; which will give me occasion to tell you one of the most extravagant pieces of forgery that perhaps ever was, which happened to be found out at the last siege of Bonne. For while they were clearing the ground for planting a battery, they discovered a vault in which there was an iron chest that was full of medals of gold, to the value of an hundred thousand crowns, and of which I was told the Elector bought to the value of thirty thousand crowns. They are huge big; one weighed eight hundred ducats, and the gold was of the fineness of ducat gold: but though they bore the impressions of Roman medals, or rather medaillons, they were all counterfeit; and the imitation was so coarsely done, that one must be extreme ignorant in medals to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true were of the late Greek Emperors. Now, it is very unaccountable, what could induce a man to make a forgery upon such metal, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground,

especially

eſpecially in an age in which ſo much gold was ten times the value of what it is at preſent; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred years ago.

The prince went out a hunting while we were there, with a very handſome guard of about fourſcore horſe well mounted; ſo we ſaw the palace, but were not ſuffered to ſee the apartment where he lodged. There is a great ſilver caſolette gilt, all ſet with emeralds and rubies; that though they made a fine appearance, yet were a compoſition of the prince's own making. His officers alſo ſhewed us a baſon and ewer, which they ſaid were of mercury, fixed by the prince himſelf; but they added, that now for many years he wrought no more in his elaboratory. I did not eaſily believe this; and as the weight of the plate did not approach to that of quickſilver, ſo the medicinal virtues of fixed mercury (if there is any ſuch thing) are ſo extraordinary, that it ſeemed very ſtrange to ſee twenty or thirty pound of it made up in two pieces of plate. A quarter of a mile without the town, the beſt garden of thoſe parts of Germany is to be ſeen, in which there is a great variety of waterworks, and very many noble alleys in the French manner; and the whole is of a very conſiderable extent. But as it hath no ſtatues of any value to adorn it, ſo the houſe about which it lieth is in ruins. And it is ſtrange to ſee, that ſo rich and ſo great a prince, during ſo long a regency, hath done ſo little to enlarge or beautify his buildings. Bonne and Coblentz are both poor and ſmall towns. Colen is three hours diſtant from Bonne. It is of a prodigious extent, but ill built, and worſe peopled in the remote parts of it; and as the walls are all in an ill caſe, ſo it is not poſſible to fortify ſo vaſt a compaſs as this town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole

wealth

wealth of this little ſtate. The Jews live in a little ſuburb on the other ſide of the river, and may not come over without leave obtained; for which they pay conſiderably. There is no exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion ſuffered within the town; but thoſe of that religion are ſuffered to live there, and they have a church at two miles diſtance. The arſenal here is ſuitable to the fortifications, very mean, and ill furniſhed. The choir of the great church is as high in the roof as any church I ever ſaw; but it ſeemeth the wealth of this place could not finiſh the whole fabric, ſo as to anſwer the height of the choir, for the body of the church is very low. Thoſe that are diſpoſed to believe legends, have enough here to overſet even a good degree of credulity, both in the ſtory of the three Kings, whoſe chapel is viſited with great devotion, and ſtandeth at the eaſt end of the great choir; and in that more copious fable of the eleven thouſand Urſulins, whoſe church is all over full of rough tombs, and of a vaſt number of bones, that are piled up in rows about the walls of the church. Theſe fables are ſo firmly believed by the Papiſts there, that the leaſt ſign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, paſſeth for an infallible mark of an heretic. The Jeſuits have a great and noble college and church here. And for Thauler's ſake I went to the Dominicans houſe and church, which is alſo very great. One grows extreme weary of walking over this great town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it. The preſent ſubject of their diſcourſe is alſo very melancholy. The late rebellion that was there is ſo generally known, that I need not ſay much concerning it. A report was ſet about the town by ſome incendiaries, that the magiſtrates did eat up the public revenue, and were like to ruin the city. I could not learn what ground there was for theſe reports; for it is not ordinary

dinary to ſee reports of that kind fly through a body of men without ſome foundation. It is certain, this came to be ſo generally believed, that there was a horrible diſorder occaſioned by it. The magiſtrates were glad to ſave themſelves from the ſtorm, and abandoned the town to the popular fury, ſome of them having been made ſacrifices to it; and this rage held long. But within this laſt year, after near two years diſorder, thoſe that were ſent by the Emperor and diet to judge the matter, having threatened to put the town under the Imperial bann, if it had ſtood longer out, were received, and have put the magiſtrates again in the poſſeſſion of their authority, and all the chief incendiaries were clapped in priſon. Many have already ſuffered, and a great many more are ſtill in priſon. They told us, that ſome executions were to be made within a week when we were there. Duſſeldorp is the firſt conſiderable town below Colen. It is the ſeat of the Duke of Juliers, who is Duke of Newburgh, eldeſt ſon to the preſent Elector Palatine. The palace is old, and Gothic enough; but the Jeſuits have there a fine college, and a noble chapel, though there are manifeſt faults in the architecture. The Proteſtant religion is tolerated; and they have a church built here within theſe few years, that was procured by the interceſſion of the Elector of Brandenburgh; who, obſerving exactly the liberty of religion that was agreed to in Cleve, had reaſon to ſee the ſame as duly obſerved in his neighbourhood in favour of his own religion. The fortification here is very ordinary, the ramparts being faced but a few feet high with brick. But Keiſerſwart, ſome hours lower on the ſame ſide, which belongeth to the Elector of Colen, though it is a much worſe town than Duſſeldorp, yet is much better fortified. It hath a very broad ditch, and a very regular fortification: the

walls

walls are conſiderably high, faced with brick; and ſo is the counterſcarp, which is alſo in a very good condition. The fortification of Orſoy is now quite demoliſhed. Rhineberg continueth as it was; but the fortification is very mean, only of earth, ſo that it is not capable of making a great reſiſtance. And Weſel, though it is a very fine town, yet is a very poor fortification: nor can it ever be made good, except at a vaſt expence; for the ground all about it being ſandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unleſs the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon piloty. In all theſe towns one ſees another air of wealth and abundance, than in much richer countries that are exhauſted with taxes. Rees and Emmeric are good towns, but the fortifications are quite ruined; ſo that here is a rich and a populous country, that hath at preſent very little defence, except what it hath from its ſituation. Cleve is a delicious place: the ſituation and proſpect are charming, and the air is very pure; and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not ſay one word of the country into which I am now come; for as I know that is needleſs to you on many accounts, ſo a picture that I ſee here in the ſtadt-houſe puts me in mind of the perfecteſt book of its kind that is perhaps in being: for Sir William Temple, whoſe picture hangeth here at the upper end of the plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous treaty of Nimeguen, hath indeed ſet a pattern to the world, which is done with ſuch life, that it may juſtly make others bluſh to copy after it; ſince it muſt be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the leaſt, but yet one of the nobleſt parcels of the univerſe, travelling would become a needleſs thing, unleſs it were for diverſion; ſince one findeth no

farther

farther occaſion for his curioſity in this country, than what is fully ſatisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the reſiſtance that this place made, when ſo many other places were ſo baſely delivered up. Though one doth not ſee in the ruins of the fortification here how it could make ſo long a reſiſtance, yet it was that that ſtemmed the tide of a progreſs that made all the world ſtand amazed; and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themſelves out of the conſternation, into which ſo many blows, that came ſo thick one after another, had ſtruck them.

But then the world ſaw a change, that though it hath not had ſo much incenſe given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another prince hath drawn after it with ſo much exceſs, that all the topics of flattery ſeem exhauſted by it, yet will appear to poſterity one of the moſt ſurpriſing ſcenes in hiſtory, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman ſtate after the battle of Canne. When a young prince, that had never before borne arms, or ſo much as ſeen a campaign; who had little or no council about him, but that which was ſuggeſted from his own thoughts; and that had no extraordinary advantage by his education, either for literature or affairs, was of a ſudden ſet at the head of a ſtate and army, that was ſunk with ſo many loſſes, and that ſaw the beſt half of its ſoil torn from it, and the moſt powerful enemy in the world, ſurrounded with a victorious army, that was commanded by the beſt generals that the age hath produced, come within ſight, and ſettle his court in one of its beſt towns, and had at the ſame time the greateſt force, both by ſea and land, that hath been known, united together for its deſtruction: when the inhabitants were forced, that they might ſave themſelves from ſo

formidable

formidable an enemy, to let looſe that which on all other occaſions is the moſt dreadful to them, and to drown ſo great a part of their ſoil for the preſervation of the reſt; and to complicate together all the miſeries that a nation can dread, when, to the general conſternation with which ſo diſmal a ſcene poſſeſſed them, a diſtraction within doors ſeemed to threaten them with the laſt ſtrokes; and while their army was ſo ill diſciplined, that they durſt ſcarce promiſe themſelves any thing from ſuch feeble troops, after a peace at land of almoſt thirty years continuance; and while their chief ally, that was the moſt concerned in their preſervation, was, like a great paralytic body, more like to fall on thoſe it pretended to ſupport, and to cruſh them, than to give them any conſiderable aſſiſtance: When, I ſay, a young prince came at the head of all this, the very proſpect of which would have quite damped an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the ſcene; he animated the public councils with a generous vigour; he found them ſinking into a feebleneſs of hearkening to propoſitions for a peace that were as little ſafe as honourable; but he diſpoſed them to reſolve on hazarding all, rather than to ſubmit to ſuch infamous terms. His credit alſo among the populace ſeemed to inſpire them with a new life. They eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that as one *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE* had formed their ſtate, ſo here another of the ſame name ſeemed marked out to recover and preſerve it. It was this ſpirit of courage, which he derived from his own breaſt, and infuſed into the whole people, as well as into the magiſtracy, that preſerved this country. Something there was in all this that was divine. The public councils were again ſettled; and the people were at quiet, when they ſaw him veſted with a full authority for that time with relation to peace and war; and concluded they were ſafe, becauſe

they were in his hands. It ſoon appeared how faithfully he purſued the intereſt of his country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all propoſitions of peace that were hurtful to his country, without ſo much as conſidering the advantages that were offered to himſelf, (in which you know that I write upon ſure grounds); he refuſed the offer of the ſovereignty of its chief city, that was made to him by a ſolemn deputation, being ſatisfied with that authority which had been ſo long maintained by his anceſtors with ſo much glory, and being juſtly ſenſible how much the breaking in upon eſtabliſhed laws and liberties is fatal even to thoſe that ſeem to get by it. He thus began his public appearance on the ſtage, with all the diſadvantages that a ſpirit aſpiring to true glory could wiſh for; ſince it was viſible, that he had nothing to truſt to but a good cauſe, a favourable providence, and his own integrity and courage. Nor was ſucceſs wanting to ſuch noble beginnings: for he, in a ſhort time, with a conduct and ſpirit beyond any thing that the world hath yet ſeen, recovered this ſtate out of ſo deſperate a diſtemper; took ſome places by main force, and obliged the enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in ſo feeble a manner. And if a raw army had not always ſucceſs againſt more numerous and better-trained troops; and if the want of magazines and ſtores in their allies country, which was the chief ſcene of the war, made that he could not poſt his army, and wait for favourable circumſtances, ſo that he was ſometimes forced to run to action with a haſte that his neceſſities impoſed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of a victory out of the hands of the greateſt general of the age, the facing a great monarch with an army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement; and, in ſhort, the forming the Dutch army to ſuch a pitch, that it became viſibly

ſuperior

ſuperior to the French, that ſeemed to have been fed with conqueſts; and the continuing the war, till the prince that had ſacrificed the quiet of Europe to his glory, was glad to come, and treat for a peace in the enemy's country, and in this very place, and to ſet all engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of ſome, and the jealouſies of other princes: All theſe are ſuch performances, that poſterity will be diſpoſed to rank them rather among the ideas of what an imaginary hero could do, than with what could be really tranſacted in ſo ſhort a time, and in ſuch a manner. And, in concluſion, every place that belonged to theſe ſtates, and to their neighbours along the Rhine, together with a great many in Flanders, being reſtored, theſe provinces do now ſee themſelves, under his happy conduct, re-eſtabliſhed in their former peace and ſecurity. And though ſome ſcars of ſuch deep wounds do ſtill remain, yet they find themſelves conſidered on all hands as the bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the fears of a new monarchy, and as the preſervers of the peace and liberty of Europe,

Here is a harveſt, not for forced rhetoric or falſe eloquence, but for a ſevere and ſincere hiſtorian, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all thoſe luſcious panegyrics of mercenary pens: but a ſmall or a counterfeit jewel muſt be ſet with all poſſible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be ſhewed. I cannot end with a greater ſubject; and I muſt acknowledge myſelf to be ſo inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, ſo I dare not truſt myſelf too long to the heat that ſo noble an object inſpires; therefore I break off abruptly,

Your's.

Nimeguen, May 20. 1686.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Some REMARKS *that have been ſent me by a perſon of quality.*

A Perſon of great rank, that is of Italian extraction, and that by conſequence knows the country well, having ſpent much of his time in it, had heard that I was giving the world an account of the reflections that I had made on the preſent ſtate of Italy; and upon that he wrote the following paper to one of his friends, to be communicated to me, for I have not the honour of any commerce with himſelf. The obſervations that he had made, agreed ſo exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no ſmall advantage towards the ſupporting the credit of thoſe I had made, to find them confirmed by ſo extraordinary a perſon, whoſe character (as thoſe who know him well have aſſured me) is ſo undiſputed, that, if I durſt name him, this alone would ſerve to eſtabliſh the belief of the moſt critical parts of my letters in the minds of all that ſhould read his paper. There are two particulars in which he and I differ; and in ſo great a variety of obſervations that are ſo critical, and ſo much out of the common road, it will not appear ſtrange, if there ſhould be ſome diſagreement. When he mentions the tax that the Pope has laid on the corn, he does not add one thing which I mention; and that is, that the meaſure by which the Pope ſells, is by a fifth part leſs

than

than that by which he buys. The other is more conſiderable; for in the account he gives of the preſent Pope's breaking in upon the ſettlement of the bank, though it is upon the matter very near the ſame with that which I give, yet there is a difference of ſome importance as to the manner of doing it. But as to that, all I can ſay is, that the firſt account I had of that tranſaction, was the ſame that is in this gentleman's paper; but afterwards I had occaſion to talk of this matter very copiouſly with one that has lived many years in the Pope's dominions, and that has dealt much in thoſe affairs; he has now a character upon him, and ſo it is not expedient to name him: it was from him that I had the particular recital of this matter; and therefore I thought it ſurer to go upon the information I had from him, than upon the general report that all ſtrangers may find at Rome. This paper had been more copious, if the perſon that wrote it had not been reſtrained by ſome particular conſiderations from ſaying any thing relating to the government of Venice.

Remarks upon Switzerland.

IT is very ſurpriſing, when one comes out of France, which is an extraordinary good country, into Switzerland, which is not near ſo fertile, to ſee ſo great a difference between the people of thoſe two countries. The people in France, and eſpecially the peaſants, are very poor, and moſt of them reduced to great miſery and want. The people in Switzerland cannot be ſaid to be very rich; but yet there are very few, even amongſt the peaſants themſelves, that are miſerably poor. The moſt part of them have enough to live upon,

from their labour, and the fruits of the earth. Every where in France, even in the beſt cities, there are ſwarms of beggars; and yet ſcarce any to be ſeen throughout all Switzerland. The houſes of the peaſants or country-people in France are extremely mean; and in them no other furniture to be found, beſides poor naſty beds, ſtraw chairs, and plates and diſhes of wood and earth. In Switzerland, the peaſants have their houſes furniſhed with good feather-beds, good chairs, and other houſhold-ſtuff, for their convenience as well as their neceſſity. Their windows are all of glaſs, always kept mended and whole; and their linen very neat and white, as well for their bedding as their tables.

Of the Griſons *country.*

THE Griſons country is much more barren than Switzerland, becauſe it is wholly upon the mountains, which produce nothing at all: yet notwithſtanding (all exceſs and luxury being baniſhed from amongſt them, and the inhabitants being extremely laborious) there are none to be ſeen there that are very poor and needy, but they live at eaſe; and there are a great many gentry of good eſtates. Their government is altogether popular. There are but three or four royalties belonging to nobility in all the country. All the reſt of their lands are in demeſne; which may yet well be called royalties too, becauſe exempt from all duts and payments whatſoever. There is nothing at all to be paid for bringing into the country any ſort of goods or merchandiſes, or for exporting of them thence. Every one there fully enjoys the fruit of his own labours, and the revenues of his land. Although the wine they drink is brought

upon

upon horſes four or five days journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in moſt parts of Italy or France, where it grows ſo plentifully. There are villages upon the very tops of the mountains, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty and two hundred houſes a-piece. And although they have no corn or grain that grows there, and but very little graſs; yet the peaſants keep three or four hundred horſes, which they employ to carry goods and merchandizes; which turns to ſo good account, that they live very well, and want nothing either for the neceſſity or convenience of life. The inns upon the mountains are very good; and there is always to be had, beſides good bread and wine, great quantity of game and veniſon, according to the ſeaſon of the year; good trouts, very good chambers, and beds after the manner of the country. When you leave the Griſons country, and are come into the country of Chavanne, the people begin to ſpeak broken Italian. Although this latter is a more fertile country, yet the inhabitants and peaſants do not live ſo well as in the Griſons country, for that the natives are more ſlothful and lazy: and here again there are abundance of poor people, as you will find in all parts of Italy.

Of the bailiage of Lugane.

THere are on the other ſide of the mountains four bailiages, which were formerly part of the duchy of Milan. Lewis XII. when he loſt that duchy, gave theſe bailiages to ſome of the Swiſs cantons. Theſe bailiages are called, *Lugane*, *Locarne*, *Mendris*, and *Bellenſon*. I ſhall only take notice of the bailiage of Lugane, which contains ninety-nine villages. The territories of this bailiage, and of the others, are not near ſo good as

that

that of Milan, to which it joins: yet the villages of this bailiage are very populous; the land is very fruitful, becauſe it is well cultivated; and all the inhabitants live contented and well. There are no beggars amongſt them, nor hardly any object of miſery and want. Their houſes are all good, well built, and kept in good repair. The territory of Milan is certainly one of the beſt in all Italy; it produceth wine, corn, and oil in abundance, a very great quantity of ſilk, and (generally ſpeaking) all ſorts of fruits. There is alſo excellent paſture for cattle: and yet the peaſants there do not live ſo well, by much, as in the bailiage of Lugane; for there is a great deal of land that lies unmanured, and the country is not near ſo populous as in Lugane. There can be no other reaſon given for this difference, but that Milan is under the dominion of Spain; that the people are loaden with impoſts, ſubſidies, and taxes, which makes them very poor; whereas the people of Lugane are under the government of Switzerland, who put no taxes or ſubſidies upon them.

Remarks on the lakes.

I Do not know that in the kingdom of France, as it was thirty years ſince, there were any lakes, except perhaps in the mountains of Dauphiné. From the lake of Jour to the lake of Garde, which is at Deſenefan, between Breſſe and Veronne, in the territories of Venice, there are a great number of lakes; one of the moſt conſiderable is that of Geneva; then there is the lake of Neufchatel, the lake d'Yverdun, the lake of Morat, the lake of Bienne, the lake of Quinti, the lake of Lucerne, the lake of Conſtance, the lake of Valeſtar, and many others in the mountains of Switzerland.

Switzerland. There is on the other ſide of the mountains a great and conſiderable lake called *Come*, alſo the lake of Lugane, the lake Major, which is above ſixty miles long, and likewiſe the lake de Garde. All theſe lakes are repleniſhed with moſt excellent fiſh, and particularly trouts; but in the lake de Garde, there is found an admirable fiſh called *carpion*, which is far more delicate than either trout or ſalmon; but they are not ſo great, for thoſe of the largeſt ſize do not weigh above fifteen pounds. I do not think, that in any part of Europe there are ſo many fine lakes to be found in ſo narrow a compaſs as thoſe which I have here mentioned.

Concerning the duchy of Ferrara.

THE Duke of Ferrara hath always been but a little prince, becauſe his dominions are not very great; yet there have been ſeveral of the ſaid Dukes, for above one hundred and fifty years ago and ſince, that have made a handſome figure, and held a conſiderable rank amongſt the princes of Italy. The country was formerly very populous; and the lands being fertile, and well cultivated, the revenues of the prince were conſiderable; and he kept a good court. But ſince that duchy is devolved upon the ſee of Rome by the death of the laſt Duke, who died without iſſue-male, the country is almoſt depopulated. The moſt part of the lands are deſolate; and for ſeveral years laſt paſt, the duchy is infected with diſeaſes, purely for want of inhabitants. There were formerly, in the time of the Dukes of Ferrara, more than one hundred thouſand people, and at preſent there are not fifteen thouſand. The graſs grows in the ſtreets, and moſt of the houſes are void.

Poleſino

Poleſino is one of the beſt parts of Italy; and that part of it which is poſſeſſed by the Venetians, is very well cultivated, and populous, and it is one of the beſt of their ſmall provinces. As ſoon as you paſs the great arm of the river Po, which is called the *Lagoſcuro*, which ſeparates that part of the Poleſino which belongs to the Venetians, from that which belongs to the Pope; although the land and country is the very ſame, yet the moſt part of thoſe lands of the Poleſino which belong to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate are deſolate and waſte. The graſs lies withered and rotten upon the ground, becauſe there is no body takes care to mow it: and, in paſſing through great villages, you'll find all the houſes abandoned, and not one inhabitant to be found. It is not eaſily to be imagined, how it is poſſible that a country ſo populous and flouriſhing, ſhould, in leſs than eighty years, be ſo entirely ruined and diſpeopled. By this it is very apparent, that no ſubjects are ſo unhappy as thoſe that live under the domination of the clergy.

Concerning the eſtates of Bologna.

IF the Popes had been able to have made themſelves maſters of Bologna, as they have done of Ferrara, they would thereby have reduced it to the ſame miſerable condition; but Bologna hath always preſerved their privileges and the civil government by means of the Gonfalonniers, under whom they are governed. They have the right of ſending ambaſſadors to the Pope, who enjoy the ſame prerogatives as the ambaſſadors of other free princes and ſtates. The Pope cannot confiſcate the goods of any ſubject of Bologna for any crime whatſoever. The great miſchiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other parts, are aſſaſſinations

aſſaſſinations and murders. Thoſe that commit them fly for ſhelter to ſome of the churches as to an inviolable aſylum, from whence the legates themſelves cannot bring them to be puniſhed; or perhaps they retire into the country into ſome ſtrong hold, or into the territories of ſome neighbouring prince, where they are certainly ſecure, and there remain until the legation of the then Cardinal be finiſhed; and afterwards make an agreement with the ſucceſſor, who for money pardons them (having power ſo to do) all the crimes and murders they have committed. In other reſpects the people of Bologna are very happy, and live in great plenty; for that the country is mighty fruitful, and they pay no taxes to the prince.

Remarks upon the country of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

THere are in this great dukedom three conſiderable cities, Florence, Piſa, and Sienna. All thoſe who have read the hiſtory of Italy, do know, that Piſa was formerly a very powerful commonwealth, that it flouriſhed in trade and commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy citizens belonging to it. There needs no other proof of this than what we read, that, upon a certain occaſion, a hundred of the citizens equipped each of them a galley at their own charges, which they maintained during all the war. The great actions are well known which they have done in the Levant by their fleets, and how they a long time oppoſed the Duke of Florence; who at length ſubdued them by the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh arms.

Piſa is one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful cities of Italy; the buildings are ſtately and fine, and

ſo

ſo is one of their churches; which, with its dependencies, is one of the fineſt in all Italy. The city is built upon the river Arne, which divides it in the midſt: it is navigable for veſſels of a great burden; and at Leghorn, which is twelve miles diſtant, it falls into the ſea. It is one of the beſt ſituated towns in all Italy for trade, with which it flouriſhed extremely whilſt it was a republic. At preſent, not only the city, but the country belonging to it, is wholly depopulated. Writers ſay, that there were formerly above one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve thouſand. The graſs grows in moſt of the places and ſtreets of the city; and moſt of the houſes are deſerted, and lie void. I was myſelf in a fair large palace, which was let for ſix piſtoles *per annum*. The greateſt part of their lands lie waſte; and the air is very unhealthy in moſt parts, becauſe of the ſmall number of inhabitants. The Duke of Florence thought there was no way to ſecure himſelf of this great city, but by depopulating of it, and ruining the trade, which rendered it ſo potent; ſo that at preſent there is not any trade there at all.

The city of Sienna was alſo formerly a very fine commonwealth, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful families; but ſince that the Duke of Florence hath reduced it to his obedience, he hath ruined moſt of the nobility and gentry, many of them retiring into France, and into the territories of ſome of the princes of Italy.

As to the city of Florence itſelf, it is extremely decayed to what it was ſince it came under the government of the houſe of Medicis. It is plain from the hiſtory of Machiavel, and other Italian authors that lived in thoſe times, that it was three times more populous when it was a republic than it is now. The Great Duke keeping his court and reſidence there, one would think ſhould make the city

city flouriſh the more; yet it wants a great deal of that luſtre and ſplendour it had when it was a commonwealth.

Remarks upon the temporal government of the Pope.

THere are certainly very few people ſo miſerable as thoſe who live under the dominion of the Pope. Moſt of the ſtates of Italy, and where there are the moſt ſubſidies and impoſitions, have not put any tax upon corn and grain which make bread; becauſe there is no perſon, though never ſo miſerable, that can ſubſiſt without it. There is that humanity and regard had to the people, in not laying taxes upon bread, becauſe it is the common nouriſhment, and abſolutely neceſſary even for the moſt indigent and poor; though impoſitions are laid without ſcruple upon wine and other merchandizes, becauſe they are not ſo neceſſary as bread. Yet the Pope makes no ſcruple to lay very great impoſitions upon corn and bread throughout all his dominions, except in thoſe places that have yet preſerved their liberties. It was Donna Olympia that, during the pontificate of Innocent X. began to put taxes and impoſts upon corn, and made ſuch laws which have ruined the moſt part of the great nobility and gentry that live under the eccleſiaſtical government, who had their revenues conſiſting in corn. All the Popes who have reigned ſince Innocent's time, have found ſuch a great advantage to themſelves by theſe laws of Donna Olympia, that they have continued them ever ſince; and it is at preſent a very conſiderable part of the eccleſiaſtical revenue. The ſubſtance of which ſaid law or ordinance is this, *That no perſon whatſoever is ſuffered to ſell corn to any ſtrangers;*

but all thoſe that have any, are obliged to ſell it at a price certain to the eccleſiaſtical chamber; which is not at the moſt above one moiety of the real value; and then the eccleſiaſtical chamber ſells it again at double the price. In Italy there is no perſon either in city or country in the Pope's dominions, who is permitted to make their own bread; but every one is obliged to buy it of the bakers who are appointed by the chamber. In each village and borough there is but one baker eſtabliſhed by the chamber to make and ſell bread. The baker is obliged to take the corn of the chamber at a certain price, and to make the bread of ſuch a quality and weight, and to ſell it at a price certain. In the great cities, as at Rome, there are very many bakers, who are all obliged to buy a certain quantity of corn of the eccleſiaſtical chamber for a whole year to come, which they pay for before-hand, and give ten crowns the ſalme or meaſure, when at the ſame time the chamber bought it of the particular perſons for five crowns. At the beginning of the year, all the bakers are obliged to take the ſame quantity of corn for the year enſuing, although ſometimes they have a great deal of the laſt year's corn upon their hands; which they muſt deliver to the chamber for five crowns the ſalme or meaſure, and then the very ſame corn is ſold them again for ten crowns. I do not believe that there is any country in the world that draws more profit from their ſubjects for corn, than the Pope doth in his dominions; which hath been partly the cauſe of the ruin of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſaid law, which was about thirty years ſince. The country is unpeopled, and great part of the lands lie void and uncultivated, becauſe it is not worth while to manure them, when the greateſt advantage and profit ariſing thereby goes to the Pope. In travelling through the eccleſiaſtical territories in

Romania,

Romania, and between Rome and Naples, there are vaſt quantities of land unmanured. A traveller, paſſing through the eſtate of a Roman prince, told the prince upon his return to Naples, *He would, if he pleaſed, ſend him huſbandmen that ſhould manure his lands*; thinking it had been for want of labourers that the lands lay void and waſte. The prince told him, *That he did not want people to cultivate his lands; but becauſe they were obliged to ſell all their corn and grain to the chamber at a very low price, it would not quit coſt to manure and cultivate it.*

Touching the reduction of the intereſt of money due by the Montes *at* Rome, *from four to three* per cent.

EVery body almoſt knows what it is which in Italy, and eſpecially at Rome, they call the *Montes*. It is much like the rents upon the town-houſe at Paris. The Popes, having occaſion for money, borrow great ſums of particular perſons at four *per cent.* intereſt. This they call at Rome *the eſtabliſhment of the Monte*; that is, the creation of certain officers, and the aſſignment of ſeveral rents for the payment of thoſe who have lent money to the Pope. The preſent Pope, finding the chamber engaged to the annual payments of I know not how many millions of Roman crowns intereſt to thoſe that had lent money upon the Monte, reſolved in part to reduce and leſſen the great ſum of money which the intereſt amounted to; and, having for this purpoſe raiſed ſeveral millions of Roman crowns, he acquainted thoſe that had money upon the Monte, that they ſhould come and receive their principal money, unleſs they would take three *per cent.* intereſt for the four *per cent.* which they formerly

merly received: whereupon, there being really no trade in all the eccleſiaſtical territories, and the lands worth nothing, and the eſtates of the nobility being all ſold to a penny, all perſons who had money upon the Monte, not knowing how to employ it to advantage elſewhere, let it there remain, contenting themſelves with three *per cent.* inſtead of four *per cent.* which they had before: ſo that by this means every one concerned loſt a fourth part of their yearly income, and the chamber got I know not how many millions of crowns yearly by this retrenchment of one *per cent.*

It is almoſt incredible what immenſe ſums the Pope hath raiſed by retrenching of many ſuperfluous expences, and extinguiſhing ſeveral offices to which great ſalaries were paid by the eccleſiaſtical chamber, and by divers other means. Thoſe who are well informed in theſe matters, do for certain affirm, that all the ſubſidies which the Pope hath remitted to the Emperor and King of Poland, to carry on the war againſt the Turks, are not the thirtieth part of the money which he hath treaſured up; although likewiſe he hath paid many debts of the chamber, which were not chargeable upon the Montes.

I ought not here to omit relating, that the inns, eſpecially in Tuſcany, in Romania, and between Rome and Naples, are very ſordid and incommodious.

One may give a pretty good gueſs at the prodigious wealth belonging to the clergy in the kingdom of Naples, by the great quantity of plate, veſſels, and ſtatues of ſilver in the churches, and by the riches and magnificent furniture of their habitations, and veſtments of the prieſts. One may, upon the whole matter, make this important reflection, That if the King of Spain doth not think of ſome expedient to hinder the clergy from increaſing

ſing their eſtates in lands, which they do daily, they will in a very little time become maſters of the greateſt part of the kingdom of Naples; for they are already poſſeſſed of more than half of the lands of that kingdom, beſides the other vaſt profits they make continually, under pretence of ſervice to the church, for their maſſes, buildings, burials, marriages, confeſſions, and by their indulgencies, and the legacies left them by will.

Though theſe are remarks made in haſte, yet they may be of uſe to the author.

I know ſeveral pleaſant ſtories of the Jeſuits at Naples. The Prince of Salerme gave them the moiety of a great houſe which he had at Naples, and thereupon an inſcription was engraven in capital letters upon the frontiſpiece of the houſe, of the donation thereof given to the Jeſuits by the ſaid prince. Within theſe few years the Jeſuits have turned the heirs of the Prince of Salerme out of poſſeſſion of the other moiety of the ſaid houſe, and have defaced the inſcription upon the houſe. And all this they have done by colour of law and juſtice.

Upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of the ſociety of Jeſuits, the Carthuſians of Naples, who are very rich, voluntarily aſſigned them a yearly penſion of ſeveral thouſand ducats; but the Carthuſians perceiving, that, of late years, ſeveral of the Jeſuits were grown mighty rich, reſolved to withdraw the ſaid penſion. The Jeſuits went to law with them, and obtained ſentence, that the ſaid penſion ſhould be continued. The Jeſuits have got a very conſiderable part of the lands of the nobility in the kingdom of Naples. All the religious, of what order ſoever they be, who have houſes at Naples, have the privilege of purchaſing all houſes that are contiguous to them, on the one ſide or the other, to the very end of the ſtreet, in order to make their houſes entire, and to ſtand alone like an iſland:

and

and for this purpose they have no more to do, than only pay the proprietor for his house, not according to the present value, but as it was last sold, perhaps fifty, sixty, or a hundred years ago, and so hath descended from father to son successively to the person then in possession.

Many other very considerable remarks might be made of the divers tricks and methods the clergy of this kingdom make use of to wheedle and trepan the laity out of their estates.

FINIS.

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